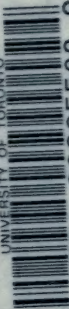
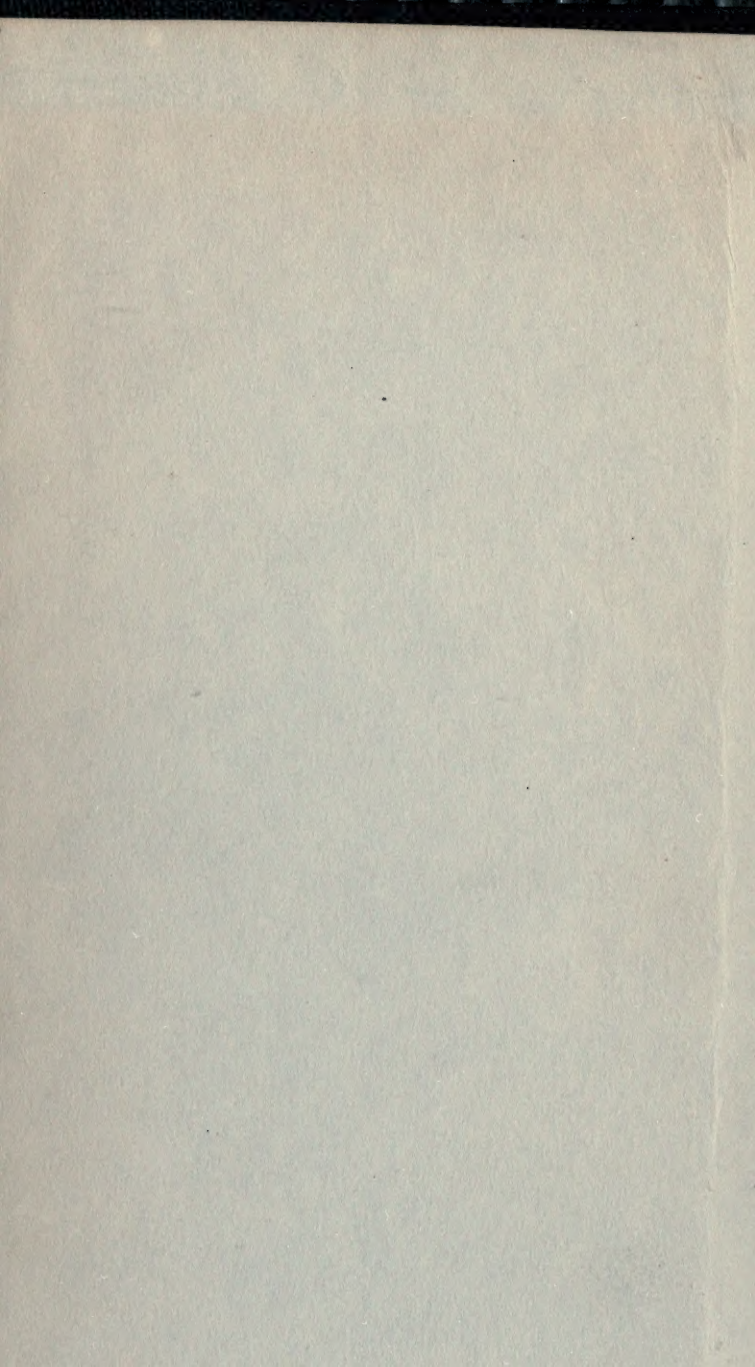
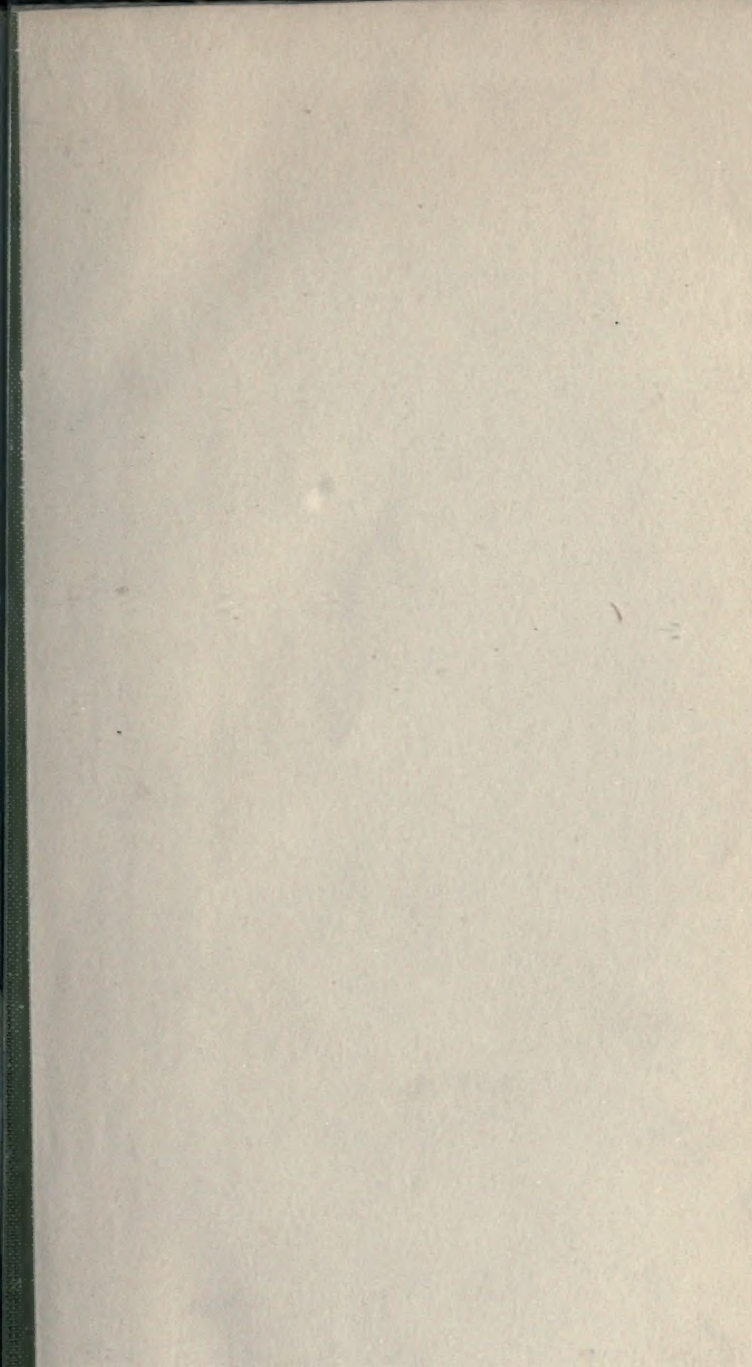


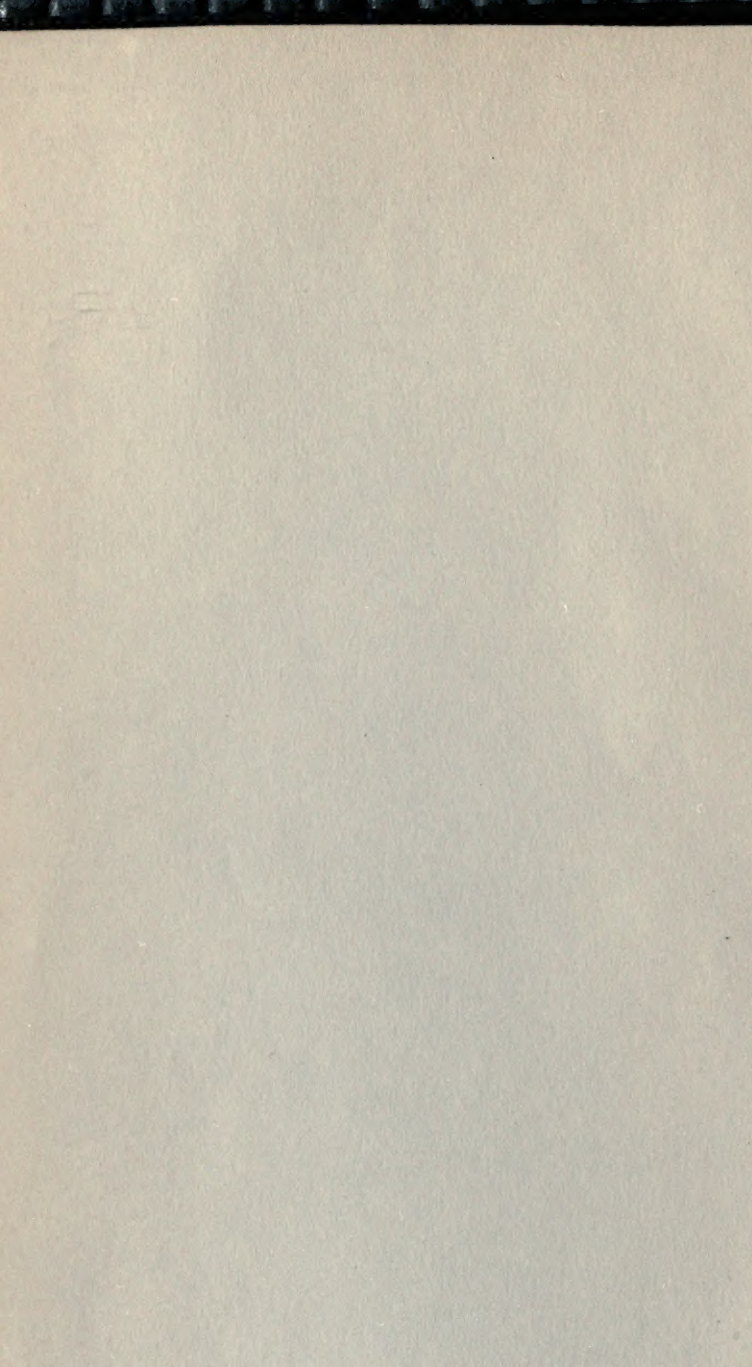
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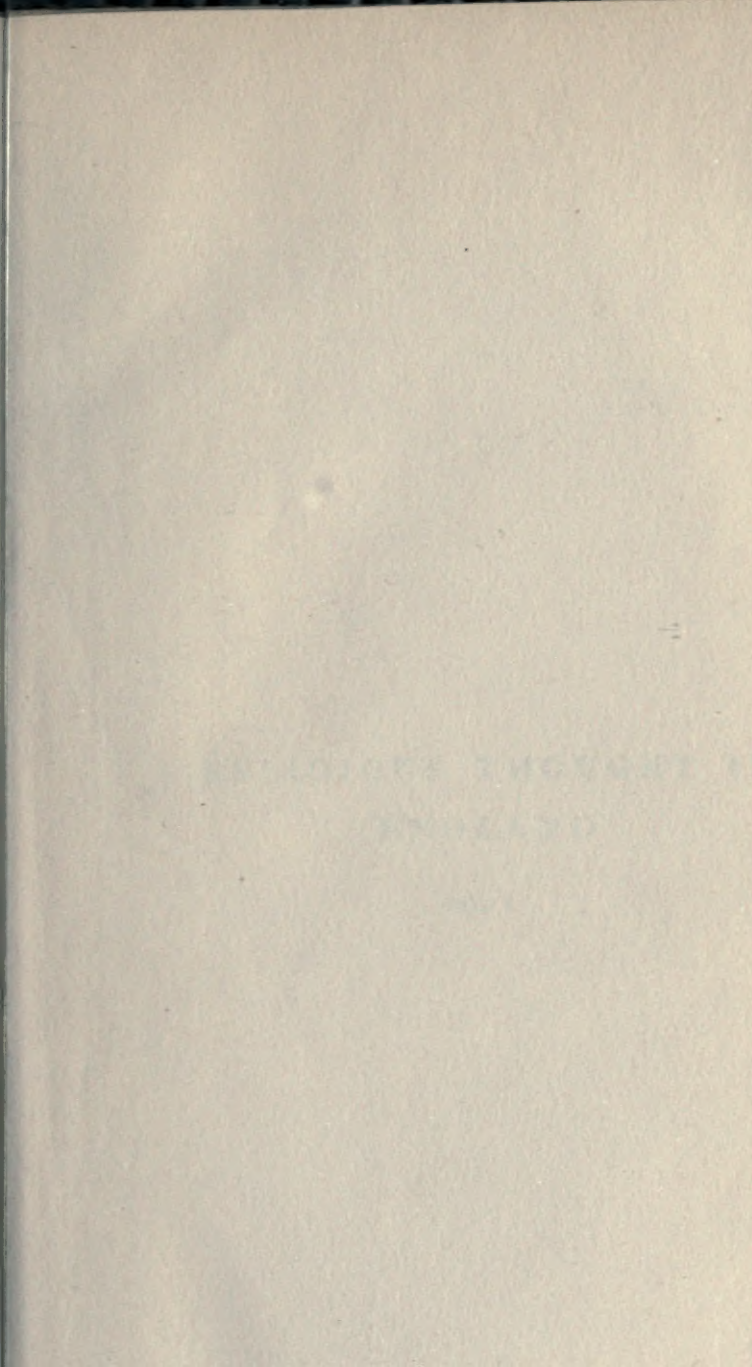


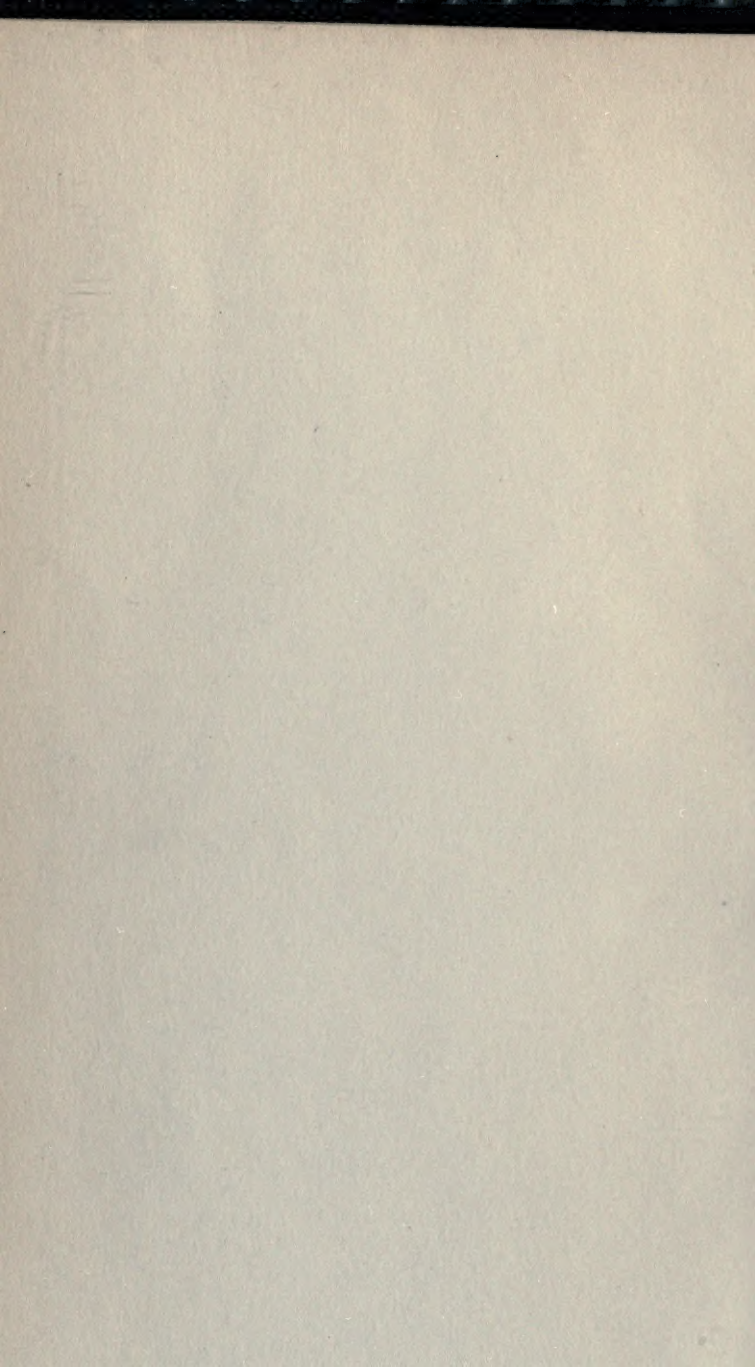
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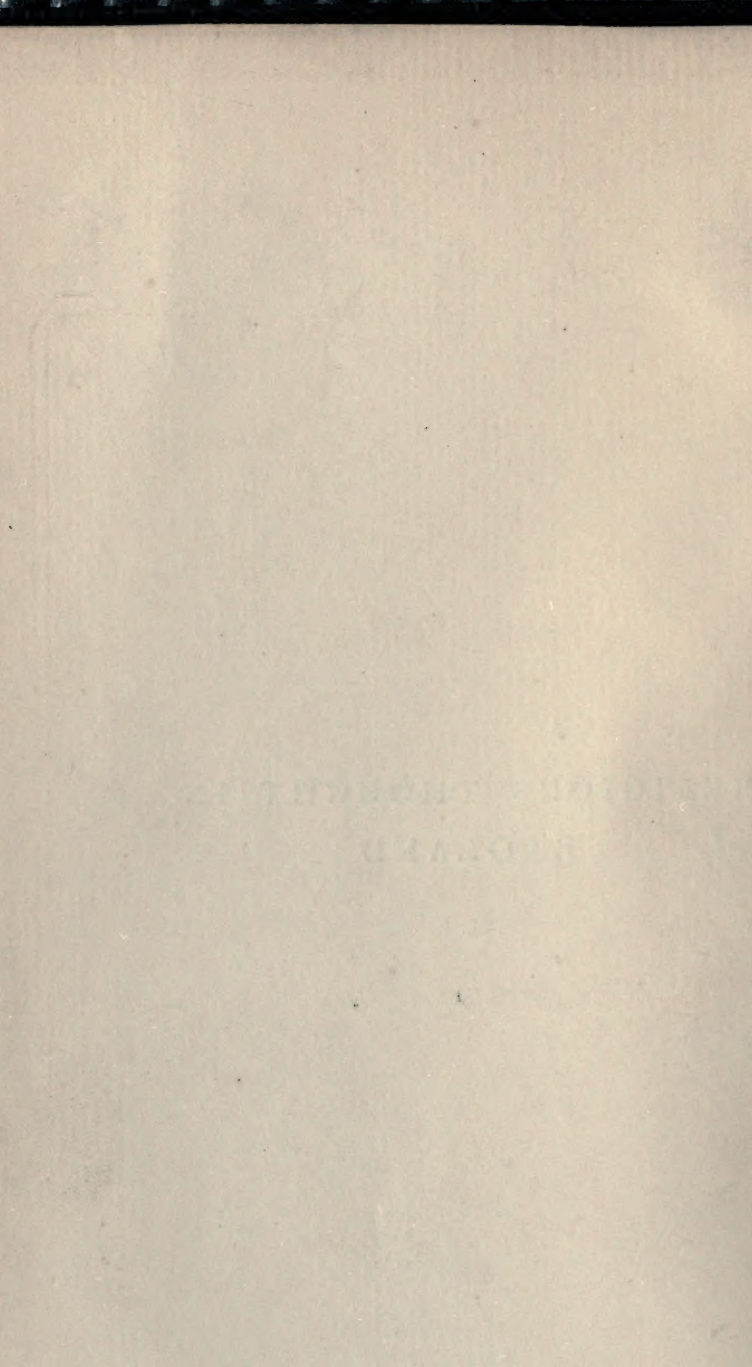






RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN
ENGLAND

VOL. I.



relig.
Theol.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT ENGLAND

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE END OF LAST CENTURY

A Contribution to the History of Theology

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AUTHOR OF 'AN ESSAY ON PANTHEISM'

VOLUME I.



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PREFACE.

THIS is not a work which requires a long preface. The title-page sufficiently indicates its object. It is not written to promote the interests of any party, and the utmost care has been made to preserve fairness and impartiality. It is impossible, I apprehend, for any man to write on controverted subjects, even in the way of history, without communicating his own bias. It is not perhaps desirable, for a man to have a bias, however little it may appear, is really the standpoint from which he writes, and sometimes the key to his conduct in writing. I have tried to avoid making inferences, preferring rather to state facts honestly, believing that in due case the inferences which I should make, will be made inevitably by all impartial minds. I am dissatisfied, as I suppose most men are, with the spirit in which the history of religion in England is generally written. If it is the work of a Churchman, it takes the form of a defence of the Church of England; if by a Nonconformist, it is a defence of nonconformity. And thus a subject which, in other hands, might be prolific for good, is sacrificed to the glorification of a sect or a party. Even the external facts of history refuse to be thus treated, and much more the thoughts which underlie the facts.

There are two views of Christianity distinctly traceable

highest expression in the Roman claim to infallibility, other in Bishop Temple's theory of the education of the human race. All questions of Catholicism and Protestantism, the Church and the Bible, in all their varied forms, are ultimately reducible to these two. Neither of them has yet been pressed to its logical result, and it is only in our day that the full antagonism between them begins distinctly to appear. Both theories suppose the Church and the Bible as in some way divine. The difference is, that the Church of Rome claims to be the infallible and sole medium of the divine communications, while the education theory supposes the Divine Being to have revealed Himself in sundry times and in divers manners to all men. The one supposes the Church to be constituted by the Roman hierarchy. The other makes the Church potentially to be co-extensive with the human race, and actually with all men under all dispensations, who have followed the teaching of the Divine Spirit. In the natural order the theory of infallibility comes first. It is the earliest human idea of revelation. It is, so to speak, a device of the human mind to satisfy its own craving for absolute certainty. The theory of education is of later origin. It is built on observation of the actual history of revelation. It is the theology of experience. The certainty it gives is only moral, that men back upon conscience and trust in God. Infallibility offers a ready solution. The education theory bids us learn our lessons, and patiently wait God's time. The claim of infallibility has never been made good to reason. In fact it has refuted itself. The Council of Trent appealed to the 'unanimous consent of the Fathers.' It has since proved that the doctrines of the Church of Rome to-day are not those of the ancient Fathers.* To save the infal-

PREFACE.

of the Church, the most advanced theologians of the Church of Rome have adopted the hypothesis of development, or progressive revelation. If this is not in itself a confession of fallibility, a new meaning must be put on the word fallible. The Church of England at the Reformation appealed to the Scriptures. Some of the Reformers, as for instance Bishop Jewel, denied that there was any such thing as 'a universal consent of the Fathers.' The appeal to Scripture alone supposed a revelation given once for all. It supposed Christianity to be the absolute religion. But it also implied a progressive development of the human mind in understanding that religion. In the trial of the question which of the two theories agrees best with the facts of Christianity, the history of all Protestant Churches, and especially of the Church of England, must be brought to evidence. What is the result of three centuries of the Reformation? Is it such as to justify the Reformation, and determine us to go forward? It is true that our progress has been slow. The principle of the Reformation has been itself retarded by Church theories that have no meaning but on the assumption of infallibility. Yet, though slow, our progress has been sure. Some great questions have been thought out exhaustively in England, and the last word on them has been said. The Roman Catholic can only taunt us with our divisions, our diversities of opinion, the extravagancies of some individuals or of some sects. All these things are admitted. They are necessary stages in our religious history. But when the worst has been said, we can comfort ourselves with the fact, that the most absolute sects of Protestantism have taught nothing more irrational than the dogmas of the Church of Rome. In the very theory of the Divine Being progressively educating the human race, it is implied that there are stages of childhood which

This work, then, is intended to be a record of progress. It will show how cautiously, and yet how surely, the generally conservative English mind has been working out its own religious position. At the Reformation we awoke to a higher sense of duty. All the problems of religion, however, are not yet solved, but our position to-day is sufficient to convince us that truth is to be found in the path we have chosen.

If there is anything more to be said here, it is said concerning the execution of this volume. I can scarcely persuade myself that it is entirely free from errors. It was written from notes made from books that I have read at different times and in different places. In some cases I may have misunderstood the authors. But I have done my best, and have tried always to state every argument as clearly as if I had been urging it for something which myself believed. It may be added, that in no case was information taken at second-hand.

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CHAPTER I.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.—THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCH OF ROME, NO NARROW INTERVAL.—REFORMATION PROGRESSIVE.—BARNES.—FRITH.—TYNDALE.—DOCTRINAL DOCUMENTS.—CRANMER.—RIDLEY.—LATIMER.—HOOPER.—BRADFORD.—PHILPOT.—HUTCHINSON.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord cannot be proved by Holy Writ ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.' The Reformers of the Church of England were guided by a rare instinct when they fastened on Transubstantiation as the culminating heresy of the Church of Rome. This was at once an appeal to reason, and to the Scriptures as interpreted by reason. The change of the substance of bread and wine was a continual miracle which the Church of Rome professed to perform. To disbelieve this change was to distrust the infallibility of the Church, which involved necessarily a rejection of its authority to teach any doctrine not agreeable to Scripture and reason.

In the Church of Rome the Sacrifice of the Mass is the chief act of worship. For this the priesthood exists,—for this the Church exists. If the body and blood of Christ are not really present on the altar, there is no true and

CHAP. I. must be differently regarded the moment we deny that is an actual, presence of the body and Christ.*

The gulf between the Church of England and the Church of Rome impassable.

That the difference between the Reformers and the Church of Rome was no narrow interval, but a great and impassable gulf, was felt and acknowledged by both sides. It was not a mere difference in detail. The first principles from which they started were not the same. The doctors of the Church of Rome still recognized in the Church an infallibility to which their judgments must yield. The Reformers rejected the living voice, and limited their creed to what was clearly taught in the Canonical writings. In interpreting these writings, they might be guided merely by individual reason, or they might call to their assistance the judgment of ancient bishops and Fathers; but, in either case, they had separated widely from those who recognized implicitly whatever the Church, professing infallibility, published as the true teaching of Christianity.

English Reformation progressive.

It was a peculiarity of the Reformation in England that it was gradual. The conservative principle was strong with those who, in the course of events, became the main body of the Reformation. The tide of Protestantism ran before it reached the high places of the Church. The monks and priests, who had perhaps read the writings of Wickliffe, or visited Luther in Germany, were not at first as teaching the Reformed doctrines, but as yet the old doctrines were far away from the palaces of the King and the bishops; the teachers of them were in exile or in prison, from which they were dragged forth only to wear the martyrs' crown.

Early Reformed authors.

The most eminent of these early Reformers and of that is, those of them whose writings exist to our day were Robert Barnes, John Frith, and William Tyndale. The first was prior of an Augustinian Convent in Can-

* Dr. Pusey in the *Eirenicon* says 'change is not material or that our Article rejects, not the Transubstantiation, but the "hyperphysical." The "acc-

He had learned the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith only, and with it the Augustinian views of election, which he held with such logical strictness as to deny that man had any free-will except to do evil. This doctrine of faith he placed in opposition to the *opus operatum* of the Church. Men were to be saved by faith, and not in virtue of the act of the priest. 'Good works,' he said, 'shall be rewarded, but the reward is not the forgiveness of sins. The doers of the law shall be justified, but justification precedes their doings. God justifies His elect, and good works follow as the fruit.'

Barnes gave offence to the authorities of the Church by a sermon which he preached in St. Edward's, Cambridge. It was directed against what he regarded as a superstitious observance of days. It referred in the first instance to the supposed sanctity of Christmas Day; but Barnes apparently took the wide ground that all days are alike, including the weekly Sabbath. He maintained that the old command to the Jews, 'Thou shalt observe thy holiday,' was not binding on Christians. He quoted St. Augustine and St. Jerome, as teaching that the Jewish Sabbath was ended. Augustine even calls those Antichrist who say that it is not lawful to work on Sabbath or Sunday. Barnes's argument was not that all days are profane, but that all days are sacred. Christ was born every day. Every day He rose again. Every day He ascended into heaven. The 'Supplication' which he addressed to the King begins with a condemnation of the Church of Rome for claiming to have power over kings to depose them at its will. The king is above the Church. Even wicked kings are to be obeyed. John the Baptist was subject to Herod, and Jesus did not refuse obedience to Pilate. This doctrine was among the articles for which Barnes was condemned. With this he was safe. But he objected to the power and jurisdiction which were possessed by the bishops. He denied that they were an order distinct from presbyters. He said that the Apostolic rule was a bishop for every city. The present bishops professed

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CHAP. I.

The elect
Church can-
not err.

glistening with precious stones, and so luxurious had their hands gloved even in the midst of the ice. He defined the Church as the congregation assembled for worship, and again as the glorious Church invisible, which is made clean by the blood of Christ. This was the Church which could not err. His description of the visible Church is almost in the words which were afterwards incorporated into the Articles of Religion. The Church is where the word of God is sincerely preached, and the sacraments orderly administered after the blessed ordinance of Christ. To the Church are committed the *keys*, that is, the power to preach the mercy of God, and declare forgiveness to those that believe. To preach the word of God is to open the door of heaven. All the members of the Church have the power of the keys, for the Church is built on the confession of the true faith. The members of the Church give to the world the exercise of this power, and those who give it cannot take it away.

John Frith.

The history of John Frith will ever be remembered for the cause of the part which Cranmer took in procuring his condemnation and execution. He had embraced the new views of the sacraments that had been taught by Luther. He reasoned that if the body of Christ ascended into heaven, it could not be in the Eucharist, for it was impossible for a body to be in more places than one at the same time. Christ is present in the Eucharist, as He was present in the wilderness, when the old fathers did eat His flesh and drink His blood as we do now. They were spiritually nourished by Him. To them that believed He was the bread of life, Frith complained that the error prevailing in his time was too much trust in the outward signs, as if by them they accomplished what could only be done by faith. He held that the sign gives the Spirit of God or grace. That those who come rightly to baptism have grace already. That the Eucharist is a witness that they are in a state of grace. That the life of a true Christian is a continual baptism. C

God. Those whom God has chosen He saves by means of faith which He works in them, and not by means of sacraments. No man can be saved without faith, but a man may be saved without baptism.

The 'Supplication of the Beggars,' written by Simon C
Fishe, led to a controversy about Purgatory. It was answered by Sir Thomas More in his 'Supplication of Souls.' of th
Fishe contrasted the wealth of the monks with the poverty Begg
of the multitudes in London, and recommended that the Sir T
money spent for Souls in Purgatory should be applied to More
the relief of the destitute. Sir Thomas More represented plicat
the Souls in Purgatory lamenting that there was so little Souls
faith in the earth, that the relief of destitute bodies should
be placed before that of suffering souls. He argued, too, for
the necessity of the existence of Purgatory, from the fact
that men's sufferings in this life are not sufficient to make
satisfaction for their sins. At this point John Frith took
up the controversy. With the doctrine of the sufficiency
of Christ's atonement, and that faith alone was necessary
to receive it, he had a full answer to More's objections.
The true Purgatory, he said, is the word of God. Christ
makes His Church clean by His word. Faith is the Purgatory of the heart. To take away our infirmities, God nails us to the cross of Christ.

William Tyndale is even better known than Barnes or Will
Frith. His translation of the Bible was the groundwork Tynd
that version which was completed under King James, and
which is still the authorized version of the Church of
England. Tyndale was a thorough Protestant. To him the
Church of Rome was the thick darkness, and his only hopes
of dissipating it were in the dissemination of the Scriptures.
For the Fathers he had no reverence. They had taken li
berties with the Scriptures, and prepared the way for their
being set aside by the Church of Rome. To the Fathers we
owe the senses 'tropological,' 'allegorical,' and 'anagogical,'
—twenty doctors expounding one text in twenty ways, as if
the only use of the Bible was for men to wear out of it in
Tynd
patris

CHAP. I.

—

the Fathers.* He classes the prelates with the sup-
Antichrist. He calls Confirmation a 'dumb cerem-
of 'the rabble of ceremonies' which the bishops
up, instead of preaching the plain text of God's law
garded the laying on of hands as a thing indifferent
tom of the Jews, but not necessarily connected
gift of the Holy Spirit.

The King
God's vicar.

On some of the practical questions which were
discussed at a later time, Tyndale has expressed
ment. Christ's kingdom not being of this world, he
the officers of the Church should not hold offices of s-
minister of religion, he said, should never be a ma-
for it is incongruous to his office that he should enfor-
of violence. The King, however, is judge over all
God's vicar, responsible to none but God. We are
judge the King, nor to resist him, for that is to re-
He is without law, and may do right or wrong, for he
judged at another tribunal than ours. This exaltat-
civil ruler had a meaning which it has not to us. The
mers looked to the King as their only hope of de-
from the supremacy of the Pope.

Which is first,
the Church or
the Gospel?

When Tyndale published his translation of the
tament, he found an opponent in Sir Thomas M-
objected not only to his founding the Church on t-
but to several words used in the translation. As
identified the Scriptures with the word of God, he
show that the Church was begotten by the word
on the other hand, had the historical fact that th-
did exist, not indeed before the word, but before
was written. Tyndale, agreeing with Barnes and
about the identity of bishops and presbyters, t-
the Greek word for presbyters as 'elders.' They
called, he said, for their gravity; and, because
office of overseers, they were called bishops. T-
usually translated Church he rendered 'congregati-
clergy, he said, had appropriated to themselves

which by right belonged to all Christians. The visible Church or congregation was fallible, but the elect Church was that which could not err.

The rest of Tyndale's theology is of the darkest kind of Augustinianism, with but few gleams of light. Through the fall of Adam we are all, he says, heirs of the vengeance of God by nature and by birth, even 'in our mothers' wombs we had fellowship with the damned devils.* It is our nature to sin, as it is that of a serpent to sting. Out of this state of sin and condemnation God has appointed some to eternal life; and when the Gospel is preached, the Spirit enters into these, opens their eyes, and works faith in them. He again compares men by nature to 'wild crab-trees,' of which God chooseth whom He will, and plants them in the garden of His mercy. Consistently with this view of the limitation of the Divine mercy, Tyndale condemns the idea of men working in order to obtain the Divine forgiveness. We are to do what is right without reference to reward, for this alone is true goodness; and we are not to work because of the reward, for that comes not by our merit, but by the free gift in our election. They that are chosen do good, so to speak, spontaneously. It becomes their nature, as it was at first their nature to sin. Of those doctors who make good works necessary to salvation, Tyndale says that they ascribe that to good works which belongs solely to Christ.† The Spirit of God works only in the chosen, and these, as we understand Tyndale, are to be found only among Christians. The moral virtues of the Pagans are declared to be even worse than their sins.‡

* Tyndale is sometimes impetuous. His mind was unequal. It wanted logical precision. This exposed him to the criticism of his enemies. But he was simple, earnest, and devout. If his logic is often bad, and his theology sometimes repulsive, they are redeemed by passages that savour of the sincerest piety, such as this, 'Prayer is a moving, a longing, and a desire of the spirit God-ward for that which it lacketh.'

Christ but by holy works.' This was an inference which might have been turned against himself. It might have been said Tyndale believed that no man is saved by Christ but only by faith.

‡ 'Thou mayest hereby perceive, that all that is done in the world before the Spirit of God come, and giveth us light, is damnable sin; and the more glorious the more damnable: so that

CHAP. I.

Rejection of
the Papal su-
premacy in
England.

The ten arti-
cles.

King Henry's quarrel with the Pope was the means of the Reformed doctrines finding favour among dignitaries of the Church. The King threw off the supremacy, and in this he was supported by all the bishops except Fisher, of Rochester. Some of the bishops proposed for further reformation, but the rest of the doctrine were as much Roman Catholic as they had ever been. From the time of the rejection of the supremacy of the Pope down to the end of the reign of Edward, we have, in documents and authorized formularies, the history of doctrinal changes from Roman Catholicism to the advanced expression of Protestantism that the Church of England has ever made. The first of these is the ten articles concerning religion which the King enjoined to be subscribed by all bishops and preachers.† The object of these articles was to secure unity and quietness among the bishops, some of whom the leaven of the Reformation had already begun to appear, and all of them had been instrumental in maintaining the supremacy of the King for that of the Pope. In these articles there is an implicit confession that the ground is changed. The King prescribed to the bishops the Bible and the three Creeds as the only doctrine and foundation of their faith, calling them 'fallible words of God.' Those who denied this were declared to be 'members of the devil, with whom they were to be perpetually be damned.' The sacrament of Baptism was declared necessary to attain everlasting life,—children dying without it could not be saved. Confession to a priest, the second part of Penance, was declared necessary when

in her chastity, sought her own glory, and not God's.'—*Par. Soc. Ed. p. 183.*

Again, Tyndale says, 'Serve God as He hath appointed thee, and not with any good intent or good zeal. Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto His word, and abhorreth all good intents and good zeals

Shaxton, Bishop of Sarum; Latimer, Bishop of Worcester; Fox, Bishop of Hereford; Hisley, Bishop of Rochester; Barlow, Bishop of St. David's. On the other side were—Lee, Archbishop of York; Stokesley, Bishop of London; Tunstall, Bishop of Durham; Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

be had, for, by the appointment of Christ, the absolution of the priest was the application of God's promises to the penitent. The words of the priest pronouncing absolution were 'the very words and voice of God Himself, as if He should speak unto us out of Heaven.' The third part of Penance was also declared necessary, that the penitent perform external works of charity and mercy. Transubstantiation was left unchanged. A gleam of Protestantism seemed to fall over the doctrine of justification. It was declared that though contrition, faith, and good works are necessary to the attainment of everlasting life, yet they do not merit salvation. We might pray to saints so long as it could be done without superstition, or so long as we did not think them more merciful than Christ. Images might be erected in churches, especially those of Christ and 'our Lady.' It is, however, allowed that circumstances may arise when it is lawful to destroy them, as we find in the Old Testament. We may pray for the dead, and offer Masses for the repose of their souls, but we do not know where they are. The articles end with a protest against the Bishop of Rome's pardons, the abuses that go under the name of Purgatory, and the supposed value of Masses said at *Scala Cœli*.

Next year, 1537, the bishops published 'The Institution of a Christian Man.' In this book the King's articles were incorporated almost without a change. Besides an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the seven Sacraments, ten Commandments, *Paternoster* and *Ave Maria*, there is a definition of faith, as 'that singular gift of God, whereby our hearts, that is to say, our natural reason and judgment, is lightened and purified.' The 'faith' apparently refers to certain articles that are to be believed. The descent of Christ into hell is to be interpreted that He went there to 'deliver from thence all the souls of those righteous and good men which, from the time of Adam, died in the favour of God.'

The ascended Christ is declared to be the only Mediator between God and man, and the only Intercessor for them that believe. The most significant part of 'The Institution

A gleam
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'Insti-
a Chr-
Man.'

CHAP. I.

bishops, he is yet not to 'preach, or teach, or sacraments, not to absolve or excommunicate.' This is taken in the twofold sense of visible and invisible times all who are christened are called the Church, sometimes only those who are 'chosen and ordained with Christ.' The Catholic Church is 'the elect and faithful people of Christ.' They are 'the temple and habitation of God, the pure and undefiled spouse of Christ, His mystical body.' With the members of this body there have ever been mixed evil and wicked people; so long as they are not excommunicated, they are accounted of as members. 'Catholic' is defined as that which 'cannot be circumscribed or restrained within the limits of any one town, city, or region, or country, but is spread and dispersed throughout the whole world.' The Church of Rome and other Churches make one spiritual unity, which is founded on faith, hope, and charity, with agreement as to the doctrine of Christ, and the uniform use of the sacraments.

'A Necessary
Doctrine and
Erudition.'

In 1543, the King set forth 'A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man.' This was identical with the 'Institution,' if we except 'A Declaration of Faith' was prefixed, and two articles added, one on 'Faith' and another on 'Good Works.' This book is surely not so much less Protestant than its predecessors. Collyer says, 'it manages with less latitude than the "Institution" to the Six Articles,* and, in some points of controversy, drives further into the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. Strype's judgment is different. He says that, 'in the former book, devotion to images, honouring of saints, and the like, to images, Masses for the dead, and various Popish ceremonies were commanded and enforced; in the latter they spoke more dubiously and warily of, or rejected them, and so for Purgatory, which made one great article in the former book, at the end of it,—it is in this quite omitted. Between the two books there is not much to choose. The former view is, on the whole, the more correct, but the latter is surely to be trusted when he writes of

Strype is wrong in saying that the article on Purgatory is left out in the 'Necessary Erudition.' The title is changed into that 'Of Prayer for Departed Souls,' but the article itself remains unchanged. The prefixed article on 'Faith' is not different in substance, but fuller in its teaching than what appeared in the 'Institution.' Faith is presented under two aspects; the second is that lively faith which is joined with hope and charity. It is identified with the faith described in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The first is simply belief in itself. It is described as a persuasion wrought in man's heart that there is a God, and that the words and sayings of Scripture are infallible truth. It is the belief of what was taught by the Apostles, and confirmed by the universal consent of the Church. 'Here man leaneth not to his natural knowledge which is by reason, but leaneth to the knowledge of faith, as Isaiah saith—"unless ye believe ye shall not understand."'

The passage from Isaiah is according to the reading in the Vulgate. It is remarkable that the first rather than the second kind of faith is regarded as 'the gift of God,' and this seems still more strange, when we read further on, that the promises of God are made *on condition* of our believing certain articles of faith. *Good Works* are declared necessary in order to justification. We must bring forth fruit, and yet we are not justified because of the merit of our works, for remission of sins is the gift of God. The article on Free Will is Augustinian, but temperate. It ends with the admonition that preachers are neither so 'to preach the grace of God that they thereby take away free-will, nor on the other side, so to extol free-will that injury be done to the grace of God.'*

In the reign of Edward the doctrines of the Reformers were triumphant in the Church of England. The Prayer Book of 1552, revised with the assistance of Bucer, was more Protestant than any of its predecessors. To this reign, also,

* It has been maintained in our day without being of it. The Reformers

CHAP. I.

The Articles
of Religion.

Homilies.

The Bible
contains God's
word.

The royal su-
premacy the
most urgent
practical
question.

we owe the Articles of Religion, afterwards reduced to two to thirty-nine,* and drawn almost entirely, as is on all sides, from the Confessions of the Reformed in Germany. To the same date belongs the first Homilies. These are not remarkable for any definitions of doctrine. The authors of them were of different sentiments.† From the words of David to the doctrine of passive obedience is enjoined on all who wish to be good Christians. The King is the agent of God's lieutenant and vicegerent, whose will we must in any case resist. It is worth noticing that in the reading the Scripture, it is said that 'in it is contained the true word.' The use of this expression is not frequent in the official documents of this era. King Henry VIII. have seen, pronounced the Bible, along with the three books to be 'the infallible words of God.'

At the time of the Reformation, the first question practically the most urgent, was that of the royal supremacy. It might seem a matter of little importance whether the Church in England was under the supremacy of the Pope or the Bishop of Rome. And an indifferent matter it did seem to many of the bishops in King Henry's time; for the assertion of the royal supremacy was the first step of the Reformation, it did not seem to imply the necessity of separation from the Roman See. But ere the Reformation far progressed, it was manifest that it involved the question of what constitutes a Church. Jurisdiction that concerned the temporalities of the Church

* Archbishop Parker expunged four of the original articles, viz. '10th,' '16th,' '19th,' '41st,' and added four, viz. the present '5th,' '12th,' '19th,' '30th.' The Convocation made further alterations. They erased the latter part of the original third article, the whole of the '39th,' '40th,' and '42nd.' The first of the four expunged was on the will. It was against those who entirely denied the freedom of the will. The next was on the 'Plea'

to be ended, but the more binding. The last was against the Millenarians. The latter article III. was on Christ's parting from Him,' and the 'ghosts that were bound.' Art. XXXIX. was again said that the resurrection was ready. Art. XL. was against those who said the soul slept till the resurrection of the body; and against those who believed

yielded to the King, but if the Church is not built on St. Peter and continued by his successors, the Bishops of Rome, on what is it built, and in whom is it continued? The Reformers had to answer this question, not solely to defend their position, but in order to take up a position at all. In England the question had two well-defined answers. One was that derived from the Reformed Churches on the Continent, that a Church is constituted by men holding Christian doctrines and living Christian lives. Such a community will govern itself by what external forms are most suitable for the time and place in which it exists. The second answer was Cranmer's, which differed from the first only by resting the government of the Church in the King. The State was reckoned the best judge as to what forms of religion would be most suitable to control and develop the spiritual life of the nation. The Reformed Church of England thus became, so far as Cranmer represents it, an Episcopal Church, of which, however, the head is not the bishops, but the civil ruler.

The royal supremacy, in the first instance, was simply a declaration of independence. The King did not mean it for more, neither did those of the bishops who took the oath of supremacy, and yet opposed the Reformation. But with Cranmer it was antagonism to the See of Rome spiritually and temporally. It gave external form to the Church, and established the relation which he thought should always exist between the Church and the State where the sovereign is a Christian. No name was too hideous for the Church of Rome. It was Antichrist. Satan had been let loose upon it, and had ruled over it for five hundred years. Christianity, in its external form, was not to be a union of all Churches presided over by one bishop, to whom it was given not to err in doctrine. The visible Church, Cranmer said, had erred. Christianity was a spirit, and had no external form of divine appointment. The true Church was invisible, not known to men, but known only to God, who searches the hearts of men. This is the Church which cannot err, which is the

CHAP. I.

The civil office
as sacred as
the ecclesiastical.

The king can
make a priest.

Scheme to
unite all the
Reformed
Churches.

good and bad, of men holding and professing the is the business of Christian princes to give law to the Church, to appoint its officers, and to see that their duties are duly performed; for all officers of the Church are officers of the State. The civil office was as sacred, in the eyes of the law, as the ecclesiastical, and the grace of God was necessary for the execution of the one as well as of the other. King Henry VIII. committed the care of the souls of his subjects as well as the government of their temporal estate. A Chancellor and other civil officers are appointed to discharge their secular duties for the commonwealth, so the Archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy are appointed to discharge their spiritual and the ecclesiastical.* The foreign Churches mostly adopted the Presbyterian form of government, while Cranmer retained Episcopacy, but he reckoned that bishops were necessary to constitute the hierarchy. In the primitive Church they were the same as priests. The bishop, he said, may make a priest, so may a priest, and so may the people by their election. The last custom of the primitive Church, before princes converted to Christianity. The Apostles did not appoint ministers of the Gospel. They recommended such as they thought eligible, leaving it to the people to accept or to reject them.

When King Edward died, Cranmer was endeavoring to bring all the Reformed Churches into one communion. He proposed a national or provincial Church to retain its own formularies. This fact, had we no other evidence, would be enough to show what were his views of the character and constitution of a Church. From the creeds and statutes of the foreign Churches he borrowed the language and forms. For the most part, he expressed his own doctrine. Indeed, these Churches had taken this language from Augustine and those Fathers who agreed with him, so that in this there was agreement with all.

portion of the early Church. On predestination, free-will, and original sin there is not much in Cranmer, if we except what is said in the Articles and Homilies. On justification by faith he clearly declares for the Lutheran doctrine, that we are justified by faith alone, but with Melancthon's qualification, that it is by a faith which is not alone. The Son of God made 'a sacrifice, satisfaction, or, as it may be called, amends to His Father for our sins to assuage His wrath and indignation.' We have the benefit of this satisfaction by faith; but it is not a faith which makes works unnecessary. It only takes away the necessity of them as meritorious, lest they should be put in the same class with the merits of Christ. It is a faith which includes charity or love. It is, in the end, equivalent to works—that is, to keeping the moral commandments of God. Cranmer reckons the substance of faith to have been embraced in the works which Jesus mentioned to the young man in the Gospel as necessary to be done to inherit eternal life.* We cannot perfectly keep the commandments, but our imperfection is perfected by Christ. His merit serves for our want of merit. We fulfil the law in Him, 'forasmuch as that which our infirmity lacketh, Christ's justice hath supplied.' We are justified by works in the sense that they are the equivalent of faith, and a necessary condition of justification; but when we say by faith alone, we take away the idea of merit on our part, acknowledge that we are unworthy, and resolve salvation solely into the mercy of God.

But the opposition of faith and works had some other relations, which helped to involve this subject in ambiguities almost beyond remedy. The Church of Rome made 'good works' to consist in obeying the commands and traditions of the Church concerning meats and drinks, fastings and pilgrimages.† To these the Reformers had to oppose a sub-

* 'So that this is to be taken for a most true lesson taught by Christ's own mouth, that the works of the moral commandments of God are the true works of faith which lead to the

and honour which pleaseth God, and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions which have no word of God to

Faith works.

What Church Rome by wor

CHAP. I.

Art. XIII. refers only to good works as they were understood by the Church of Rome.

jective faith. They directed the people to Ch the faith and works which He had enjoined, directing them to the Church, with the faith which it had enjoined. In doing this they adopted Augustine's language, which had been used against the Church of Rome had become Pelagian as Augustinian; but it had also become something Pelagian. The good works which Pelagius included in the conditions or grounds of justification were the laws of God; but the good works of the Church were the traditions of the elders and the commandments of men. Moreover, the language of Augustine, never always exaggerated, and often inconsistent with an uncertain vehicle for conveying the thoughts whose immediate object was to oppose the merits of good works' of quite another kind from those to which Augustine's language referred. An instance of the arising from this is in Article XIII., which says that 'works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they consist not of faith in Jesus Christ.' If they are *good* works, else could they spring but the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit? If they are not *good* works what are they? mentioned? The statement, in the latter case, is a denial of merit. Clemens of Alexandria, with some other ancient writers, ascribe all the goodness of the Pagan philosophers to the grace of God working in them, though they knew not of it came. The Bishop of Ely thinks that Clemens' doctrine does not interfere with that of the Article. But he limits grace and inspiration to those works which consist in faith in Christ.' Can the heathen do such works? they in any sense be said to have faith in Christ? would have answered this question, but in a way wholly opposed to the spirit of this Article, which owes its origin to another theology. In the 'Homily on Good Works' which is said to have been written by Cranmer, we find the good works of the Pagan such as feeding the poor, &c.

said that the works are equivalent to faith. Had he followed Clemens of Alexandria, he would have explained that philosophy was to the Pagans what the law was to the Jews, or the Gospel to the Christians. But he was following Augustine, who says that such works have not the faith of Christ for their foundation, and therefore they are not good.* In his exposition of the eighty-fourth Psalm, that Father speaks of Christians as typified by *the turtle-dove that hath found a nest where she may lay her young birds*. Jews, Heretics, and Pagans do good works, but they have not found a nest. Their works are not done in the true faith, and, 'therefore, these birds are lost.'

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After the Royal supremacy, which, as we have seen, affected the whole constitution of the Church, the next urgent question between the Reformers and the Church of Rome was that of the Sacraments. Cranmer did not object to the number seven, though five of them could not be called sacraments except in an inferior sense. Nor does there appear to have been any difference about Baptism, unless it be that the Roman theologians, while admitting the presence of the Holy Ghost in Baptism, denied that of Christ's humanity, which they reserved for the other sacrament only. This might be construed into a wish on their part to elevate the Communion above Baptism. Cranmer's object was to make them of equal importance and significance. His great controversy was on the Eucharist. It was with this sacrament, he said, that the devil had 'craftily juggled.'† Transubstantiation was the root of the deadly tree of error, the

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* By 'faith of Christ,' Augustine evidently means an objective faith, the belief of a certain creed. Cranmer adopts Augustine's language without Augustine's meaning. It is possible that Augustine would have denied the Church of Rome to be the Church Catholic had he lived in Cranmer's day, but the spirit of his remarks is embodied in the following passage from the notes appended to the

faith, and not by the law of works. Wherefore it ariseth that the Jew, the heathen philosopher, and the heretic, though they excelled in all good works of moral virtue, could not be just, and a Catholic Christian man, living but an ordinary honest life, either not sinning greatly or supplying his faults by penance, is just.' *Saving faith* is here obviously *faith* in the Church of Rome—receiving a certain creed.

CHAP. I.

Christ's body
occupies a
place in
heaven.

dank bed of the weeds of superstition.* It 'over-
the nature of a sacrament,' for a sacrament requires
sign of what is signified. But the symbols cease to
they are changed into the body and blood of Christ.
mer's thorough opposition to the belief of the real
in the 'sacrament of the altar' in any sense at all a-
ing the Roman Catholic doctrine, is the only defe-
can be made for the language of Article IV., which
of Christ having ascended into heaven with 'flesh
'bones.' The natural body of Christ, he argu-
pies a *place* in heaven, and therefore it cannot
present in the bread and wine of the Communion.
body may be glorified; it may have become heav-
spiritual, but whatever change it has undergone,
subject to that law by which it is a body,—that it be
one place at one time. If it can be predicated of
is both in heaven and on earth, or that it is prese-
ever the priest consecrates the host, it no longer com-
our conception of body. The bread in the Commu-
still bread and the wine is still wine, but the body
is in heaven. It was bread which He broke, and
body; it was wine which He gave His disciples
and not His blood; the signs, but not the things
signified.† To eat Christ's body, says Cranmer, is
'doing something abhorrent to any Christian.' In
it was a custom to burn what remained of the com-
elements. If these had become the body of Christ,
priests who burned them ought, he said, to be called
burners.

Transubstantiation was mainly supported by the
Jesus—'This is my body;' and by His discourse to
about eating His flesh and drinking His blood, as

* 'The very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the weeds, is the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar.'

ground again with the old superstitions.'—Vol. ii. p. 10.

† Christ is not to be eaten, as Cranmer says, 'as being in the bread; for He is not in the bread, but the bread is in Him.'

in the sixth chapter of John's Gospel. The words, 'This is my body,' were easily explained by the common use of language. It is just what we should have expected Jesus to have said when He gave His disciples the symbols of that body which was soon to be bruised and broken on the cross, and of that blood which was to be poured out for the life of the world. The discourse in John's Gospel Cranmer at once rejected as having no reference to the sacrament of the Supper; that is, no more than it had to the sacrament of Baptism, or any other religious service in which by a figure of speech we are said to eat Christ's flesh and drink His blood. The words were spoken a year, probably a year and a half, before the institution of the Supper, while Jesus spoke to those present of eating His flesh and drinking His blood then, otherwise they could have no life in them. To suppose that Jesus referred to the Eucharist is to throw an unnecessary veil of mystery over words whose meaning is as plain as the plainest passage in John's Gospel. The Jews murmured when they heard Him speak of their eating His flesh. They thought He spoke of some carnal and corporal eating, such as is implied in transubstantiation. Their error was not less absurd than that of Nicodemus concerning regeneration, who thought that to be born again a man must enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born. Jesus answered them: 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.' To eat His flesh means to believe on Him.*

Cranmer denies that Christ's body and blood are present in the sacraments. They are in heaven, and not upon earth. Yet he says many times over, in language strong, express, and sometimes perplexing, that worthy communicants eat Christ's body and drink His blood. If Christ's body is in heaven, the difficulty of conceiving how it can be present to the faithful and received into their hearts is not less than the difficulty of conceiving it to be in or under the elements. All his arguments drawn from reason against transubstantiation seem to be equally valid against his own doctrine. He

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CHAP. I.

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explains that Christ's body is eaten *spiritually* and *tally*. The latter word is not definite, but fortunately tells us what he means by it. A sacramental eating of the sign when, by a figure of speech, we eat the thing which is signified. To eat a *body* spiritual is an expression some degrees worse than indefinite, manifest contradiction. To speak of believing under the figure of eating the bread which came down from heaven, is an intelligible speech, but to eat spiritual thing which is corporal and in heaven is not so intelligible. Cranmer's words are, 'We receive the self-same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified, buried, that rose again, ascended into heaven, and is seated at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.' He frequently that it is the 'very flesh' and the 'very blood' which the worthy communicants receive. As we are *nourished* in Baptism, so are we nourished by the body of Christ in the sacrament of the Supper. The Holy Spirit is *joined* to the water in baptism not *inadequate*, but *inadequate*; and so in the other sacrament, the body of Christ is joined to the bread, but not made bread. These are Cranmer's words; can we find out Cranmer's meaning?

Appeal to the
Fathers.

The Church of England at the Reformation appealed to the Fathers. In separating from the See of Rome it wished to separate from the Church Catholic. Cranmer quotes many passages from the old Fathers as expressing the doctrine of the Eucharist. Chrysostom says, 'That the bread before it is sanctified is called bread, but when it is sanctified by the word of a priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is called by the name of the Lord's body, although the nature of the bread remains.' Ambrose, speaking of the change of the bread into the body of Christ, says that 'God can make things to be what they were before, still to be, and also to be changed into other things.' Augustine says, 'That which you see on the altar is the bread, and the cup which also your eyes do see is the wine. But faith sheweth further that bread is the body of Christ, and the wine is the blood of Christ. The bread is not changed into the body of Christ, but it is made the body of Christ by the power of God.'

to teach a real presence of the natural body in the elements. Cyprian said the bread was changed in nature, but not in its outward form. Chrysostom denied that the consecrated bread and wine passed through the œsophagus, or were subjected to the action of the stomach, like other bread and wine, but rather like wax cast into the fire, no substance is left. If the Fathers in such passages as these did not teach transubstantiation, they taught something which might be substituted for it without much danger of the counterfeit being discovered. To most of the passages quoted by Gardiner, Cranmer added the context, which generally modified the meaning. When this was done, he quoted the same Fathers again, with their instructions how these words are to be understood. Tertullian says that Christ meant by the words 'This is my body,' it is a figure of my body. Chrysostom says that bread and wine are the similitudes of Christ's body. Augustine, speaking of the discourse at Capernaum, says that Jesus seems to command a very heinous and wicked thing, and therefore it must be a figure. Again, that 'when Christ gave the sign of His body He did not hesitate to call it His body.' This same Father, at some length, shows how all such speeches are to be understood. Thus on the day before Good Friday, we say, To-morrow Christ suffered His passion. On Easter Sunday we say that this day Christ rose from the dead. Yet He died but once and rose again but once, and that many hundreds of years ago. Augustine says that in the same way we speak of the sacrament of Christ's body as His body, and of the sacrament of His blood as His blood. In Baptism we are said to be buried with Christ, but though the Apostle says *we are*, it is only a similitude. The sacrament of the thing is called by the name of the thing itself. Cranmer concludes that all this language of the Fathers concerning the sacraments, however literal it may seem, must not be taken literally. And the same he wishes to be the case with his own language, when he seems to imply a bodily presence of Christ. He was misunderstood.

Cranmer from time, how far are to under

CHAP. I.

Cranmer beseeches his readers not to take his figures literally.

His blood.' These are 'figurative speeches.*' In where he speaks with great decision, he beseeches his readers not to take his words literally, not to suppose that Christ is not corporally in the visible signs, He is in the persons who duly receive them. He assures that he means no such thing. The presence of which speaks is spiritual. It is explained as consisting in the virtue, and the benefit of that body which was shed for us and that blood which was shed for us. When we ask, did Cranmer use words which were so often understood, and conveyed to the reader a meaning so far from what he intended? He answers that it was necessary in everything to use the same words and phrases as were used by the ancient Fathers.†

The spiritual union.

There seems, however, to have been in Cranmer some vague idea of eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ in some way that was not a figure. 'When he said, 'Christ's own very natural body, but not his blood nor corporally.' He took literally the expressions. The members of Christ's body. The union between Christ and believers was to him something so real, that the figure would have seemed to deprive it of reality. The bodily union after a spiritual manner. The true union is doubtless the spiritual, yet, to our sense of apprehension, that is most real which is corporal. The Church of Rome kept to the literal sense, which to the grovelling is the most real. Cranmer rose above this, and yet, though the spiritual presence real, he seemed to think that it was necessary to speak of it under the figure of a bodily presence. The sun is in heaven, but its influence is upon earth.

* 'Marvel not, good reader, that when He did institute that sacrament, seeing it is the nature of all sacraments to be figures. And although the Scriptures be full of schemes, tropes, and figures, yet specially it useth them when it speaketh of sacraments.'—

that they used, and not words, but to set my hands singular their speeches, and forms of speech which in their treatises upon the (Vol. iv. p. 127.) Melancthon if the Fathers had known was to be made of their

body of Christ is in heaven, yet that which emanates from it, its strength or virtue, is upon earth. When Gardiner took up this controversy with Cranmer, both disputants were soon lost in the questions—what constitutes a body, wherein it differs from spirit, what substance is, and how a substance is to be distinguished from its accidents. The ‘corporal’ or ‘carnal’ body with ‘flesh’ and ‘bones’ which Cranmer said was in heaven, Gardiner denied to be either in heaven or in the Eucharist. The heavenly body of Christ was spiritual, not corporal. As Gardiner was driven to explain it, the body of Christ was spirit, and the sacramental presence the presence of the substance of spirit under the accidents of bread and wine. Cranmer, on the other hand, denied that he ever meant by corporal and carnal such a gross material body as exists on earth, but he did contend that Christ’s body was palpable, visible, circumscribed, and occupying but one place at one time. It was now in heaven. To say that the substance of it can be present under the accidents of bread and wine, is to deny it the qualities of body, and to confound all our ideas of substance. We only know a body from its accidents, and to suppose that the substance of any body is different from what its accidents declare it to be, is to ‘mix heaven and earth together.’ Gardiner admitted that Christ had a circumscribed body in heaven, but by the power of God, he said, that body was also present in the sacrifice of the Mass. It had rarely been denied by Roman Catholic writers that the wicked as well as the faithful eat the body and drink the very blood of Christ in the sacrament. So far there was a consistent advocacy of a real objective bodily presence. It had been admitted, too, by some Roman theologians, that a mouse, or any such creature, eating the consecrated bread would also eat the body of Christ. Consistently with what he had said about the spiritual substance of body, this was denied by Gardiner, from which it followed that a mouse might make a meal on accidents, leaving the substance untouched.

Cranmer said that the worthy communicants received

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CHAP. I.

To eat Christ's
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been valid against himself. But the reception was thing spiritual and by faith in the hearts of believers by their mouths as partakers of meats and drinks. a man may receive the sacrament without receiving body, so also may he receive Christ's body without the sacrament.* This is expressed clearly in a rubric at the end of the Service for the Communion Sick. To eat Christ's flesh and to drink His blood everywhere explains as believing in Christ. They feed upon Christ in their daily lives. In hearing preached, in prayer, in praise, in acts of faith, in Baptism as well as in the Supper, they eat His flesh and drink His blood. We receive the body of Christ in Baptism in the Communion, and we are *regenerated* in the Communion as well as in Baptism.† In the sacraments are visible signs of His invisible presence, but beyond that is no otherwise present than He is present always to all people to the end of the world. The saints of old before His incarnation, were nourished by His blood, even as we are now. They did all that the Apostle, eat the same spiritual meat and they drank the same spiritual drink, for they drank of the rock which He loved them, and that rock was Christ.‡ It is supposed that the Church of England takes a middle ground on the Eucharist, between the Roman Catholic and the Calvinist. But this supposition is without foundation, to take Cranmer as representing the Church of England. There are some strong expressions in the Prayer Book perhaps the strongest are those in the Catechism—where it is said, 'The body and blood of Christ are verily and truly taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.' Cardinal Wiseman said that these words were put in to deceive the Catholics. Words equally strong are

* 'If Christ had never ordained both body and soul, as we receive the sacrament, yet should we have as in the sacrament of the Eucharist eaten His flesh and drunken His blood of Christ?'—Vol. i.

in Cranmer's writings. He himself has told us that they do not mean what they seem to mean, and that they are ignorant of the use of theological language who take such words literally.* They are in no way intended to approach the *real presence*, as taught in the Church of Rome. To put the matter past all doubt, Cranmer at last declares that on this subject he does not differ from Bucer, and that Bucer, in his judgment, did not differ from Œcolampadius and Zwingle. True, this sacrament is no *mere* commemoration. Did Zwingle ever call it so? What necessity or what authority for prefixing the word *mere*? A religious commemoration of so great an event could not be a mere *badge* or *token* of profession. The keeping of such a command as 'Do this in remembrance of me,' could not surely be less a means of God's invisible working in us than any ordinary exercise of religious worship. That Zwingle denied sacramental grace, is the invention of men who have theories to support.† He denied, and so did Cranmer, the notion of grace coming through the sacraments in virtue of their being administered by any particular order of men, or that grace was in any way inseparably connected with the sacraments. Cranmer and Zwingle both agreed that the sacraments were means whereby God works in men invisibly, but not different in kind from other means.‡ If Jesus

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* Cranmer translated a catechism written by a Lutheran, Justus Jonas, in which were the words, 'with our bodily mouths we receive the body and blood of Christ.' Some objected to the words, and Cranmer called them 'ignorant persons not used to read old ancient authors.' In the first Prayer Book of King Edward, there was a sentence in the consecration prayer in which the priest asked that the bread and wine 'may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ.' Gardiner claimed this for transubstantiation. To avoid such claims it was omitted at the next revision.

† Calvin blames Luther, Œcolampadius, and Zwingle for the spirit in which they carried on the controversy

he says 'notwithstanding they denied not the verity, yet they did not teach it openly as was becoming. Thus do I understand, that whiles they give themselves studiously and diligently to affirm that the bread and wine were called the body and blood of Christ, because they be signs thereof, they thought not that they ought in the meantime to do this thing also, to add to that they are the signs after such sort that the verity is nevertheless joined unto them. Neither did they declare that they went not about to deface the true communion which the Lord giveth us in His body and blood.' — *Coverdale's Translation of Calvin's 'De Cena Domini.'*

‡ 'Christ is present in His sacra-

CHAP. I. Christ is present always and everywhere; if
 — the hearts of His people; why should He not be
 the sacrament of Baptism and the ordinance of t

No propitiatory sacrifice
 in the Supper.

In denying the *real presence* of the body of C
 mer was led consistently to deny that there was
 propitiatory sacrifice in the Lord's Supper. Th
 one sacrifice propitiatory, that of Christ, and C
 could offer it. One of our Articles pronounces t
 tory sacrifice of the Mass a *blasphemous fable*
 priest who pretends to make it Cranmer calls 't
 adversary' of Christ. The word *propitiatory* is
 rally; Christ once for all assuaged God's wrath, a
 His justice. The Supper is a memorial of that s
 is properly called on that account a sacrifice of th
 It is eucharistic or gratulatory, but not propitiato
 explained by Gardiner that the Mass was not an
 offering over and above that of Christ's. The p
 offered Christ, so that it was still the same off
 was repeated. The Mass was called propitiatory
 its connection with the offering on the cross. For
 side there was the perplexing fact that the sacri
 priests under the old law were called propitiato
 the offerings of the Jewish priests, which were b
 of the offering on Calvary, were called propiti
 should not the same word be applied to the mem
 fice in the Supper? Cranmer might have so app
 pleaded, as he had done in other cases, the langu
 Fathers; but here he felt the importance and
 contending about a word. He saw that if 'p
 were allowed, even in a figurative sense, to be ap
 sacrifice of the Mass, he would have no words le

* It is true that in our Article the
 word is plural 'Masses' not 'Mass.'
 From this Dr. Pusey ('Eirenicon,' p. 25)
 maintains that the Article does not
 condemn the 'sacrifice of the Mass'
 but a habit of trusting to the purchase
 of Masses when dying, which he says

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guish between the offering of Christ and such sacrifices as it is the duty of all Christians to offer. He did not believe in a sacrificing priesthood as distinct from a sacrificing people; and whatever might be pleaded theoretically for a connection of the sacrifice of the Mass with that on the cross, it appeared to him that practically every Mass was a new propitiation.

Bishop Ridley's theology did not differ from Cranmer's. In his examination at Oxford previous to his martyrdom, he defended the same positions as to the Eucharist, and with the same arguments. To separate from Rome was not, he maintained, to separate from the Catholic Church. To make out this, Ridley interpreted a passage of St. Augustine to mean that Africa was not subject to the See of Rome; and he quoted Vincentius Lirinensis, who says that 'when one part is corrupted with heresies we are to prefer the whole world before that part, but if the greatest part be infected then we must turn to antiquity.' With this protest against Rome as a usurper, it was incumbent upon Ridley to show that the Fathers were on his side. He was pressed with the words of Chrysostom, that 'Christ took His flesh with Him into heaven and yet left it on earth; that He sitteth above with His Father, and is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and delivers Himself to them that will receive Him.' And again, 'that the blood which is in the cup is the same which flowed from His side, that here we have the Lord on the altar and not in a manger, and that He is handled not by a woman but by a priest.' These words Ridley explained as a presence of Christ's body by grace. His blood indeed was in the cup, even the very blood that gushed from His side, but after the manner of a sacrament. This he explained as Cranmer had done, on the principle that we ascribe to the sacrament what belongs to the matter of the sacrament, and thus we say of the sacrament of the blood that it is the blood. 'It is well then,' cried the examiners; 'we have blood in the chalice.' To which Ridley answered, 'it is true but *by grace in a sacrament*' At which words

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CHAP. I. himself in his own hands,' this was not true of Christ.* The Council of Lateran said, 'The God lieth on the table,' which means, says Ridley is there not corporally but in a mystery, according to power.

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Ridley ex-
plains the
sacrament of
the Supper.

This mysterious presence did not satisfy the Fathers. Either the actual body was present or it was not. Transubstantiation might have its difficulties. Its advocates might be drawn into contradictions in its defence. Ridley ridiculed it as he had done under the figure of Christ. 'bo-peep under a piece of bread'† but he was allowed to speak of a body being present when he said that the symbol of it was present.

Following as closely as possible the language of the Fathers, he said that there was a miracle in the Eucharist. The bread for bread which is used to sustain the body becomes the soul, that the grace and strength of the body is the only salvation and life of men; that we venerate symbols when we handle them reverently, and in the Eucharist we adore and worship Christ in the Eucharist. He rejected the imputation that he regarded the Lord's Supper as nothing different from any other table, or that the Eucharist is a bare sign or figure of Christ's death. The signs are taken from common use, and made the signs of a holy thing. Every sacrament has grace. It is, in itself, an instrument by which God works. But when a sacrament *has* grace, we should explain that it has grace included in it, but, to those that receive it well, it is grace. After that manner the water in Baptism is promised, and by that grace the Holy Ghost is

* The passage is 1 Sam. xxi. 13, where in our version it reads, 'He feigned himself mad in their hands.' It relates to David's conduct at Gath, which was also, it is supposed, the occasion of his writing Psalm xxxiv. (Vulgate xxxiii.). Augustine's words are, 'Hoc vero, fratres, quomodo possit

commendans ipsum corpus est meum corpus. Fere corpus in manibus suis.

It is difficult to know when he got this reading.

† The LXX. reads, 'ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, and Colloquatur inter me

that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water.*

This use of patristic language, to which Ridley clings, and which was wisely laid aside by Tyndale, only helped to prolong the controversy. The explanations did not satisfy the examiners, who understood the words of Chrysostom and Augustine in a different sense. Ridley connects the sacraments with grace, but only as it was done by Cranmer, and before him by Tyndale. He also connects preaching with grace, and the connection is the same in kind. Sacraments and preaching he puts in one category, comparing them to the beams of Christ, who is the Sun of Righteousness.†

Bishop Latimer was less anxious than either Cranmer or Ridley about adhering to the words of the Fathers. He disposed of them with a sentence of Melancthon's, that if these doctors had known to what use their language was to be applied, they would not have written as they did. He used the favourite terms of his brother Reformers and martyrs about *sacramental* body and eating *sacramentally*. One of the examiners at Oxford asked him where he got these words, for certainly they were not in the Bible. It was only in his examination that he seems to have used them, and then he reminded the examiners that he was an old man, past four score years, that his memory had failed him, and it was a long time since he had been engaged in these

* It is sometimes said that Ridley was less Protestant than Cranmer. This is entirely without foundation. The exaggerated language of the Fathers about the sacraments, which he thought he was obliged to use, he explains as Cranmer had explained it. Palmer, in his book on the Church, says that Cranmer virtually denied the *real presence*. He adds that in this he was unlike Ridley, Ponet, and 'The Necessary Erudition.' This statement is not correct, at least as regards Ridley and Ponet. The views of Ponet are found in King Edward's Catechism, of which he is said to

British Museum. Long extracts from it will be found in the late Dean Goode's work on the Eucharist. A book on the Lord's Supper, called *Diallacticon Viri Boni*, etc., printed in 1557, has been ascribed to him, but without sufficient reason.

† The account which Ridley gives of the patronage of the Church before the Reformation, will teach us not to wonder at the evils which continued after it. 'When Papistry was taught,' he says, 'there was nothing too little for the teachers. When the bishop gave his benefices to idiots, unlearned, ungodly, for his kindred, for

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CHAP. I.

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studies. Latimer's sermons are practical rather logical, but whenever he touches on theology he is that of the most advanced Reformers. The Augustinianism which Cranmer imported into Anglicanism and the 'Homily on Good Works' is fully sanctioned by Latimer. Perfect men among the heathen, he lived uprightly as concerning their outward conduct, 'went to the devil in the end, because they were not Christ.' He defined the Church in the words of Augustine, consisting of persons 'in whom abideth the truth, the knowledge and confession of faith.' The sacrificing priesthood which existed under the old law was now, he said, changed into a 'preaching priesthood,' and all Christians were to be sacrificing priests. In accordance with this view he wished that the ministers of religion should always be laymen and not priests, for while they are called ministers there is an implication that they have a sacrifice to offer, different from that which should be offered by laymen. The sacraments he denied to be bare signs, but outward tokens, but as circumcision spoke to the truth of the circumcision of the heart, so the bread and wine of the Eucharist are lively representations of the breaking of the body and the shedding of His blood. Baptism is a sign of the washing away of sins. It tells us that as water cleanses the body, so the blood of Christ cleanses the soul.

Hooper differed from Cranmer and Ridley about the mode of the Reformation.

Hooper, the Bishop of Gloucester, differed with Cranmer and Ridley about wearing the vestments used by the Church of Rome. There is distinctly to be seen in Hooper a tone or temper different from that of Cranmer and Ridley. It would be a mistake to say that they differed in their views of the Reformation itself, but they did differ as to the mode in which it was to be carried on. Cranmer wished the Reformed service to be like the Roman that the ignorant multitude might not be conscious of the change. In this doubtless he was supported by Ridley, who seems to have earned

of the Church of Rome. He was more avowedly an innovator, yet it would be difficult to draw a well-marked line between his theology and that of Cranmer or Ridley. He openly scorned the idea of founding the Church upon the succession of bishops. Truth alone, he said, makes a true Church: agreement with Scripture and the Church of the Apostles. God's word is not bound to the clergy. The doctors and Fathers have no authority but as they preach truth. Christian men have the Scriptures in their hands, by which they are to judge if their teachers are right or wrong. Whoever preaches contrary to God's word is to be rejected, whatever be his place in the Church, and whatever reverence antiquity may have gathered around his name.* He is not to be followed, even should he be Augustine, Tertullian, or an angel from heaven. That the Church of Rome is not a true church, Hooper thought to be sufficiently proved by the lives of many of the Popes. They were evidently not members of God's Church, but 'members of the devil, and the first-begotten of Antichrist.'

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In answer to the plea that the ceremonies of the Church of Rome were useful for instructing the ignorant, Hooper argued that a lesson drawn from nature would be more effectual in impressing on their minds the doctrines of Christianity. The ploughman would learn more of Christ's death by the corn that he sows in the field than by the dead posts that hang in the church. The springing up of the grain from the earth would be a more vivid lesson of the resurrection, than the ceremony of pulling a post out of a sepulchre, with priests singing *Christus resurgens*.

* 'Leave not,' Hooper says, 'till the matter be brought unto the first, original, and most perfect Church of the Apostles. If thou find by their writings that their church used the thing that the preacher would prove, then accept it, or else not. Be not amazed though they speak of never so many years, nor name never so many doctors. Christ and His Apostles be grandfathers in age to the doctors and

part. For if either the authority of bishops or the greater part should have power to interpret the Scripture, the sentence of the Pharisees should have been preferred to that of Zachary, Simeon, Elizabeth, or the blessed Virgin. Consider that many a time the true Church is but a small congregation, as Esay saith,—*Except the Lord had left us a remnant we should have been as Sodom.*' . . . 'Beware of

CHAP. I.

Danger of
putting the
sacraments in
the place of
Christ.

Hooper brought against transubstantiation* arguments as the other Reformers. He wished reverence to be given to the sacraments. Yet was guarded against ascribing to them what Christ alone had. He protests fearlessly against the notion that the sacrament was necessary to salvation. He could not doubt that the children of Christian parents were saved; and he could see why the mercy of God should not also extend to the children of unbelievers. They have no sin upon them but the original guilt of Adam's transgression. Sacraments have no power as confirmations of Christ's promises, which are realized by those who receive the sacraments, other than the external rite avails nothing. That sacraments are necessary to salvation he calls 'an ungodly opinion that doth dishonour the mercy of God.' Hooper agreed with Cranmer on the right of the King to be governor of the Church.

* The Roman Catholic argued that the body of Christ being changed after His resurrection it may be in the elements invisibly, after the manner that Christ came among the disciples when the door was shut. To which Hooper answers, 'Wheresoever His body be, it must have the qualities and quantities of a true man. If His body be corporally in the sacrament, and yet without all properties of a true body, this text is false—He was found in fashion as a man, likewise this—He was made in all things like unto His brethren. They grant that only the spirit of man eateth the body of Christ in the sacrament; then either the spirit of man is turned into a corporal substance or else the body of Christ loseth his corporal substance, and is become a spirit. For it is not possible for the spirit of man to eat corporally a corporal body.'—*Early Writings*, Par. Soc. Ed. p. 68.

Again:—'They make Him there and yet occupy no place: then it is no body, for a true body, physical and mathematical as Christ's body is, cannot be, except it occupy one place. They say I must believe and say with the Virgin, *Ecce ancilla Domini*. I may not seek

her belly, yet the effect of the nativity of Christ ascertains the reason and senses that it is a true body. It shall be proved they make demonstrable senses, and warrant me that they have here presented a true body; how it cometh to pass means, I leave that unto you.'—p. 69.

Again:—'As soon as we confessed the bread to be the substantial body of Christ, the wine His natural blood: *invisibiliter et ineffabiliter*—*loco, non qualitative et quantitatively*—doth Thomas Aquinas and the schoolmen sophistically dispute. Is it not a wonder that we mark what contradiction there is in these words? First they say natural, corporal, physical, and real body is in the sacrament, the body that died on the cross, buried, that rose the third day, was taken into heaven; and yet they make it without quality. Notice this, a marvelous thing, they say that Christ now hateth the world, is neither great neither low, if He have now such a

the example of the Jews. Aaron and his sons had the ministry committed to them, but they never made laws or introduced ceremonies without the sanction of Moses, their prince.*

Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper were prominent in the reign of Edward, as heads of the Church and leaders of the Reformation. When the fires were kindled under Mary to burn Protestantism out of the Church, persecution dragged others into fame. Among these were John Bradford and Archdeacon Philpot. Bradford was a saint more than a theologian. His works are remarkable for the strong expression of what would now be reckoned the worst form of Calvinism. Salvation, he said, could not be free if it did not proceed from election. Divine mercy was not conceivable, if not confined to a chosen few. The elected children alone could magnify this mercy, and they alone could be truly humble for they know that they have not chosen God, but that God has chosen them. Bradford refused to distinguish between the divine foreknowledge and the divine predestination. God's attributes, he said, could not be separated,—His foreknowledge from His wisdom nor His wisdom from His will. Christ Himself has told us that but few are chosen. If God's mercy had extended to all men, then all would have been saved. Where it is said that Christ enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, Bradford explained that light is given sufficient to make men without excuse. All men, in the Scripture, means all elect men. Though man is

* It is a question that has been keenly discussed between Calvinists and Arminians, which side could claim Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper. If the question were to be determined by the general tone and spirit of their writings, there can be no doubt that they were Calvinists. But the task of proving their Calvinism to those who question it, is not so easy. As to Cranmer, if we are to take the notes on the Great Bible known as Cranmer's Bible, to be his, which certainly we ought to do, the question,

Ridley Yet Strype says he and Bradford wrote on predestination and election against the Free Willers, and that Bradford's treatise received the approbation of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. There are passages in Latimer's sermons which distinctly declare him to have been a Calvinist; but he preferred preaching about God's *revealed* will, which concerns our duty, to curious speculations about God's *secret* will, which is beyond our reach. As to Hooper, who certainly had most of the Puritan in him, it is singular

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Explanation
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without free-will, yet what he does is sin, even as willingly, though for them to sin is to show their nature. On questions like these we are not to reason is sinful and arrogant to ask—How? Faith in this Bradford declared to be the sum of what God requires. It is that faith without which it is impossible to please The Bible, and not our reason, is the judge of good virtue and vice. Whatever it commands must be right, whatever it forbids must be wrong. We are to obey its voice as implicitly, and with as an entire negation of our judgment, as Abraham obeyed, when he was commanded to sacrifice his son.

On the sacraments, Bradford's arguments and illustrations are the same that were common to the other Reformers. Christian eats and drinks the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, but he also has the same spiritual benefit in hearing the Gospel preached. He quoted St. Augustine who says, 'We are fed with the body of Christ and His blood, not only in mystery, but also in knowledge of Holy Scripture.' Again Jerome says, 'Christ's blood is poured into our ears by hearing the word; therefore great is the peril if we yield to other cares while we hear it.' He also quoted Augustine, who says, 'It is no less peril to hear God's word negligently, than to use the sacraments.' At his examination previous to his martyrdom, Bradford told the Lord Chancellor that he believed Christ's body to be present corporally unto the sacrament. There the worthy receive it, but the unworthy do not receive it, as St. Augustine said, 'When he received *panem Domini*, the bread of the Lord, he received *panem Dominum*—the bread, the Lord.

The plain declaration that Christ was corporally present in the sacrament might have satisfied the Lord Chancellor, but he could not understand the qualification 'unworthy.' Bradford quoted Augustine, who says that the bread is Christ's body, after the same manner that circum-

adoption, on which we should say with Mary, 'Be it unto me, O Lord, according to Thy word.' It is amazing how well the Reformers explained the Fathers as agreeing with them, but it sometimes required a considerable exercise of ingenuity. Augustine defined the Catholic Church as 'that which has the consent of peoples and nations.' The Archbishop of York,* quoting this definition, asked Bradford how it could agree to his Church. The answer was 'Marry, all people and nations that be God's people have consented with me, and I with them, in the doctrines of faith.' It will not be denied that this answer was clever. It did not satisfy the Archbishop, and it might be an undue exercise of private judgment to say that it would have satisfied St. Augustine.†

Of the writings of Archdeacon Philpot‡ we have almost nothing beyond his examinations, as they are recorded by Foxe. These relate chiefly to transubstantiation, and the question of what constitutes the Catholic Church. Philpot maintained that he was of the Catholic faith and the Catholic Church, the same into which he was baptized, and in which he wished to live and die. He was asked, where his religion was a hundred years ago. He answered in Germany, and divers other places. He said, he agreed with the true Catholic Church, that which was in the time of the Apostles. It was called Catholic though it was not universally received, but because it had the perfect doctrine of Christ, which was to be preached throughout the whole world, which, Philpot said, is Augustine's explanation of Catholic, who, in another place, says the Catholic Church is that which believes aright. The Archbishop of York quoted Augustine against the Donatists, that they had no succession of bishops, and that they wanted universality, being chiefly found in Africa. Philpot denied this to be Augustine's meaning, for to universality he added verity, and he spoke of faithful successors of Peter before corruption came into the Church. He further denied

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† It will interest some people to know that all the brute creation to life and immortality.

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CHAP. I. the succession of bishops to be an infallible mark
 — the Church may be known. There may be a succession of bishops where there is no Church, as at Jerusalem and Antioch. The Archbishop quoted Augustine's formula of the Catholic Church: consent of all nations—Apostolic See—universality—and the name Catholic. Philpot said that Rome was not the only Apostolic See, that the Church of Rome had not the consent of all nations, and the name Catholic did not belong to it, for it did not have almost everything from the Catholic Churches planted by the Apostles. The Church of which he was a member would, he said, be universal if only ten persons joined to it, because it agrees with the universal Church of the Apostles planted throughout the world. He allowed the Church of Geneva to be Catholic, and its doctrine to be the same as the same was to be said of the Church of England stood in the days of King Edward.

Doctrine of the Church of Rome has not the consent of all nations.

On the doctrine of transubstantiation, Philpot gave the same explanations with which the other Reformers perplexed their examiners.* A spiritual presence, the rhetorical language of the Fathers sounded like a temporal presence, seemed at times to satisfy the two parties who were enraged when they found that the meaning was not as they understood it. When Philpot said that Christ was present only to faith, and His body eaten by the receivers alone, Bishop Bonner cried out, 'My Lords, heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. If I say to Sir John Bridges, being with me at supper and eating a fat capon, "Take eat, this is a fat capon;" although it is not thereof, is it not a fat capon still?' If this illustration was homely and not too reverent, it had yet the effect of bringing the question to the desired issue. Bonner and his party took figures literally, and this taught Phil-

Bishop Bonner and the fat capon.

* Philpot's explanation of Chrysostom's saying that Christ took His flesh with Him and yet left it behind Him might therefore rightly be that Christ ascending took with Him that which He received of the world.

necessity of laying aside figures, and of saying what he had to say in plain words.

The writings of Roger Hutchinson* have an individuality perhaps more marked than those of any of the other theological authors of that time. His editor apologizes for some of his expressions as scarcely within the range of what is considered orthodox. Affliction is spoken of as if it atoned for sin.† Hutchinson, says the editor, was led into one or two such statements by following St. Chrysostom. It is conjectured that these would have been modified had the author seen them in print, but they are in harmony with the tone and character of Hutchinson's mind. He speaks of our bearing other people's sins as Christ has borne ours, and he makes the substance of religion to consist of 'upright conversation and a good life.' Without these, he says we are no more Christians than the Turks, for it is not homilies, nor ceremonies, nor sacraments that make men Christians. Hutchinson denied the existence of any such affections or passions in the Divine Being as anger or mercy. Scripture only uses these modes of speech, because of our weak understandings. Man changes in his relation to God, but God is ever the same. The sun is pleasant to the eye in health, but painful when the eye is diseased; so God is said to be at peace with the righteous, and angry with the sinner. Nothing, says Hutchinson, can properly be spoken of God, for then He would not be unspeakable. Even the intercession of the Holy Ghost is explained, not that He intercedes with the Father, but that He 'stirreth us unto prayer.' The 'unutterable groanings' ascribed to the Spirit are the lamentations of the sinner for his sins.

Hutchinson vindicated, and explained as agreeing with the Reformed faith, the passages from the Fathers most frequently quoted in the Eucharistic controversy. Many, he said, boast and prate about the old Fathers who do not understand the Fathers. He defended as not teaching tran-

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substantiation the sentence from St. Cyprian,* *Id est effigie, sed natura mutatur*—the bread is changed in appearance, but in nature. This sentence surely, in authority, must have settled the question for the Catholic side; but Hutchinson argues that as Elijah to have changed the nature of iron, meaning thereby natural property—that which was heavy having become light—so the bread and wine, which before were food for the body, after consecration become food for the soul. The distinction between *nature* and *natural property* is a subtle distinction. But the meaning plainly is, that as iron is still iron, though the prophet made it to swim, so the bread and wine in the sacrament are still bread and wine, but set aside for a higher service than the nourishment of the body. Hutchinson was a rational Protestant, and in the present day would be called a sober Church of England man. The Scriptures, he said, allowed three orders of ministers, bishops, presbyters, and deacons; but in the sense of *sacerdos*, is never found in the New Testament except when applied to the ministers of the Jewish Law. This law with its priesthood is now annulled. Christ is Priest. There is no priesthood but His, and that belongs to all Christian men, whether ministers or laymen. They have all but one sacrifice to offer, which is the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and the living oblation of their own

* The 'De Coena Domini' ascribed to St. Cyprian is now reckoned spurious.

† Hutchinson acknowledged some speciality in the sacrament. When Christ said 'This is my body,' He meant more than when He said 'I

am the vine.' The bread was the element of His body, but that was only a metaphor. The sacrament, the brazen serpent, the sacrament. They were not symbols or bare metaphors, but specially appointed symbols of

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH UNDER ELIZABETH.—THE CONSECRATORS OF ARCH-BISHOP PARKER.—ELIZABETH'S FIRST BISHOPS.—JEWEL.—BECON.—RISE OF THE PURITANS.—GRINDAL, CARTWRIGHT AND WHITGIFT.—HOOKER AND TRAVERS.—DR. JOHN BRIDGES AND MARTIN MARPRELATE.—AYLMER.—BANCROFT.—BILSON.—LORD BACON.

ON the accession of Queen Elizabeth all the bishops, with but one exception, refused to take the oath of the royal supremacy.* Those who opposed the Reformation did not scruple, as we have seen, to take the oath under Henry. Some of them had conformed under Edward, and returned to the Church of Rome under Mary.† The Bishop of Llandaff alone was ready for a change again.

The Reformers who had escaped the Marian persecution returned from exile, and to them the Queen committed the government of the Church. Of these only four were bishops,

* This was Anthony Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff. Kitchin managed to spoliage the revenues of his see. It is supposed that at last he was deprived. The see is spoken of as vacant two years before his death.—*Archbishop Parker's 'Correspondence,'* p. 208, Par. Soc. Ed.

Two hundred and forty clergymen quitted their livings on the re-establishment of Protestantism, fourteen

who refused to conform, one hundred and ninety-nine. In D'Ewes's 'Journal,' a good authority, it is reduced to one hundred and seventy-seven.

Ridley speaking in Queen Mary's days said 'The nobles, the commonalty, the prelates, the clergy are quite changed. They never were persuaded in their hearts but for the king's sake.'

† Four bishops seem to have held

CHAP. II.

—William Barlow, John Scory, John Hodgskins, and Coverdale.* Matthew Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. He immediately after proceeded to create bishops for the other sees.† The new bishops as thoroughly Protestant as the martyrs that had died in the last reign. A large number of them would gladly have dispensed with Episcopacy, while the ceremonies which the Queen imposed were barely tolerated. Parkhurst, when made Bishop of Norwich, expressed his joy in writing to Bullinger that henceforth the bishops were to reside in palaces or country seats. Jewel, who was made Bishop of Salisbury, in a letter to Peter Martyr described the ship which the Queen was establishing, as scenic as they had often laughed at.‡ Grindal, who was made Bishop of London, disliked the ceremonies, but thought it better to conform than to leave the Church on a

The new bishops oppose the ceremonies.

* There was also a suffragan bishop of Thetford, and John Bale, Bishop of Ossory.

† The new Bishops stood thus in 1559, excepting those which have dates affixed:—

Matthew Parker, Canterbury.
Richard Davies, St. Asaph's.
Rowland Merrick, Bangor.
Gilbert Berkley, Bath and Wells.
1560.

William Barlow, Chichester.
Thomas Young, St. David's.
Richard Cox, Ely.
William Alley, Exeter. 1560.
Richard Cheyney, Gloucester. 1562.
John Scory, Hereford.
Anthony Kitchin, Llandaff.
Nicholas Bullingham, Lincoln.
1560.

Thomas Bentham, Lichfield and Coventry. 1560.

Edmund Grindal, London.
John Parkhurst, Norwich. 1560.
Hugh Curwyn or Coren, Oxford.
1567.

Edward Scambler, Peterborough.
1561.

Edward Gheast, Rochester.

John Jewel, Salisbury.

Robert Horne, Winchester. 1561.

James Pilkington, Durham.
John Salisbury, Sodor and Man.
1571.

‡ In a letter of a still earlier date Jewel finds a reason for the change. The clergy were very ignorant, and better than mere logs of wood. They had no talent, learning or industry. They were the same for the most part that had been priests and monks. What could the politic ruler do with them? They were of no use as ministers of a reformed Church, and to cast them away would have been to convert them into heretics. So they resolved, Jewel says, to send them to the people in 'mical dress' . . . 'since they could not obtain influence in a proper way, they seek to occupy the eyes of the multitude with these ridiculous ornaments'. —*Jewel's Letters*.

'The scenic apparatus of worship is now under attack. Those very things which we have so often laughed at seriously and solemnly entertained certain persons (for we are not to be despised), as if the Christ could not exist without tawdry.'—*Ibid.*

them. This apparently was the position of most who conformed, while many remained in the Church without entire conformity. Cheyney, the Bishop of Gloucester, is said to have declared for the Lutheran view of the real presence; but all the others, as far as it is known, agreed with the Swiss Reformers.

Of the four bishops who consecrated Parker the best known is Coverdale, who had been bishop of Exeter under Edward, and who first published a complete translation of the Bible in the English language. The writings that are extant of Coverdale's are mostly translations from the foreign Reformers. 'The Old Faith,' translated from Bullinger, is remarkable for nothing but its defence of the ordinary doctrines which are known as Protestant. In a translation of Calvin's *De Cæna Domini*, we find the Reformer of Geneva less averse to the language of the Fathers concerning the presence of Christ in the Eucharist than some of the Reformers in England. Calvin thinks it right to call the bread the body of the Lord, because it is the sacrament and figure of that body. Yea the inward substance, he says, is annexed to the visible sign, and as the bread is distributed in the hand, so is the body of Christ communicated to us, to the intent we should be partakers thereof. It is not a sacrifice which the priest is to offer for the remission of sins, but a sacrifice on which the people are to feed. In 'The Hope of the Faithful,' translated from Otho Wermullerus, the author triumphantly quotes St. Jerome against John of Jerusalem on the resurrection of the flesh. It did not please St. Jerome merely that the body was to rise again, for there are different kinds of bodies. He could be satisfied with nothing less than the resurrection of the flesh, 'a substance of blood, sinews, bones and veins set together.' Coverdale's own language concerning the Eucharist is identical with Cranmer's and Calvin's,—that as truly as we eat bread and drink wine in the sacrament, 'so do our souls by faith receive Christ's body broken and His blood shed, yea even whole Christ into whom worthy receivers are incorporated

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The king
above all
bishops.

much the same terms as the other Reformers. Aaron was obedient unto Moses, and Nathan fell on the ground before King David. The Holy Scriptures Coverdale, declares most abundantly that the authority given unto kings is above all powers, 'Popes or Cardinals or whatsoever they will.' This had always been, tacitly at least, acknowledged in England, he adds, 'When your grace's subjects read your grace's letters or begin to talk or commune of your highness, they take off their bonnets for a sign or token of reverence to your grace, as to the most sovereign lord and head of the Church, which thing no man useth to do unto any bishop.' Coverdale lived through a great part of the reign of Henry VIII, but was not restored to his bishopric. It is said that he renounced his episcopal character, but there is no proof of this. He conformed to the Church, though with many things which he thought should be changed. He is usually claimed, along with Henry VIII, as precursor of the Puritans, and though one of the supporters of Parker, his history justifies the claim.

Among Elizabeth's first bishops the best known are those of Parker, Barlow, Cox, Grindal, Scambler, Jewel, Horne, Sandys, and Pilkington. Coverdale was a strict conformist, and a rigid enforcer of conformity. He was also a thorough Protestant, and in this respect a worthy successor of Cranmer. He renewed correspondence with Calvin about uniting all the Churches into one communion. From this correspondence it appears that neither would the foreign Churches have objected to Episcopacy, nor would the English Bishops have objected to such a modification of Episcopacy as would have satisfied the foreign Reformers. The death of Edward and the martyrdom of Cranmer put an end to the first negotiation. The second was frustrated by the death of Calvin.

Matthew Parker renews the correspondence with Calvin.

The English

Barlow was the oldest Protestant bishop.

party at Frankfort, when they differed about the use of the English service-book. He was a valiant Protestant and a thorough conformist.* Scambler is said to have preached secretly to a congregation of Protestants in London during the whole of Mary's reign. Parkhurst, Horne, and Pilkington were afterwards famous as promoters of Puritanism. The last wrote several theological books, chiefly practical and expository. Grindal succeeded Parker in the Primacy, and was suspended by Elizabeth for refusing to enforce the laws against nonconformity. Sandys passed from Worcester to London, and thence to York. He objected to the vestments when promoted to Worcester; but was persuaded by his friends that it would be injurious to desert the Church at such a time, on account of rites not absolutely evil. He recommended that the ceremonies should be laid aside, not all at once, but by degrees, and as it could be done quietly.†

Of these bishops Jewel alone was a great writer. His 'Apology for the Church of England' led to an endless controversy with the Jesuit, Harding. It was written while the Council of Trent was sitting, and is the final plea against Rome that the Reformers are shut out from the Council unheard. The Pope would only admit Protestants on condition that they first recanted their errors. If he had taken us for men, said Jewel, he would, first 'have seen what might be said with us, and what against us, and not in his bull whereby he lately pretended a Council, so rashly have

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Archbishop have been searched in vain. As he was in law the consecrator of Parker, it has been maintained that the validity of all English consecrations depends on his. According to Barlow's own principles, consecration was not necessary. He said, in a sermon, 'If the king's grace, being supreme head of the Church of England, did choose, denominate, and elect any layman (being learned) to be a bishop, that he, so chosen (without mention being made of any orders), should be as good a bishop as he is, or the best in England.' In the same

* To Wolfgang Werdner, Cox wrote, 'We are thundering forth in our pulpits and especially before our Queen Elizabeth, that the Roman Pontiff is truly Antichrist, and that traditions are for the most part mere blasphemies. At length many of the nobility and vast numbers of the people begin by degrees to return to their senses, but of the clergy none at all.' —*Zurich Letters*.

† 'It is scarce wisdom,' he says, 'whereas in many years a beautiful and costly house is builded, if a window be not first made, and a small like

CHAP. II. condemned so great a part of the world, so many
 — and godly men, so many commonwealths, so many
 and so many princes, only upon his blind prejudiced
 determination, and that without hearing of the
 showing any reason why.' It was not thus, however,
 the old Fathers proceeded, who were 'Catholic'.
 When they wished to convince heretics, they appealed
 to the Scriptures.

No truth received every-
 where, always,
 and by all.

Unity no
 test of truth.

We may take Jewel's 'Apology' as fairly representing
 the mind of the Church of England at its reformation
 under Elizabeth. It defines 'Catholic' as not
 one nation like the Church of the Jewish dispensation,
 '*Quod ubique semper et ab omnibus creditum est*' of
 the *Lirinensis*, is regarded as something which never
 In this sense even the doctrine of Christ is not
 Our enemies, says Jewel, taunt us with the division of
 testaments; but unity is not a sign of truth. There was
 no unity among the Israelites when they worshipped
 different calves. Among the murderers of Christ there was
 no consent. With one voice they cried 'Crucify Him.'
 In the early Christian Church the members of
 the chief Apostles were not all agreed. Paul disagreed
 with Barnabas, nor Barnabas with Paul. In the
 Church of Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Augustine
 and Jerome, all Christians, all Fathers, and all
 opposed each other with bitter and endless contentions.
 The 'Catholics,' who now boast of their being the
 Church, Jewel compares to the old Arians who called
 themselves 'Catholics,' calling the Orthodox, the
 and Athanasians. When 'these folks' speak of
 unity they mean themselves alone, like those of old times.
 'The temple of the Lord—the temple of the Lord—
 the temple of the Lord—the temple of the Lord—
 the Scribes and Pharisees, 'which cracked the
Abraham's children. Thus with a gay and jolly
 conceit they deceive the simple, and seek to choke us with
 the name of the Church.' God's grace, he adds,

foundation where at first the foundation of the Church was laid, on Jesus Christ. The Fathers were fallible, and therefore we must go beyond them. Yet the Church of England has never admitted that these Fathers are on the side of Rome. Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Cyprian were 'learned men and vessels full of grace.' They are to be read and revered. They were witnesses unto the truth, pillars and ornaments of the Church, 'yet may they not be compared with the word of God. We may not build upon them, we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience.' Augustine himself has said of those who were Fathers in his time that they were not to be weighed with the canonical Scriptures. We have departed, said Jewel, from the Church of Rome, but not from the Church of the Apostles. The modern citizens of Rome have come down from the seven hills, and now live in the Plain of Mars, where they find the water necessary for life which had failed them on the hilltops; so we have left the Church of Rome where the fountain has failed, in search of the waters of life.

On the sacraments Jewel was wholly Zwinglian. The true use of the sacrament of the Supper was, he said, a remembrance of Christ's death. All other uses are abuses.* The benefits of Christ's death are applied to us by faith, and not by the massing priest. When Harding spoke of Calvin as undervaluing the sacraments, Jewel at once and without reserve took up the cause of Calvin. He reproached Harding with 'misrepresenting so worthy an ornament of the Church of God,' and told him, if he had ever seen the order of the Church of Geneva, and 'four thousand people and more receiving the holy mysteries together at one communion,' he would have been ashamed to have published to the world that by Calvin's doctrine the sacraments were superfluous. In his letters to Peter Martyr, he more than once expressed his great satisfaction at the thoroughness of the Reformation as it was carried on in Scotland.†

After Jewel, the most voluminous writer of the Reformers

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Thomas
Becon.

His plain
speaking.

His Presby-
terianism.

who had been in exile, in the time of Mary, v
Becon.* His name was on the list of those mark
high preferment; but the highest he ever received
in Canterbury cathedral. The majority of Becon
are practical, and must at one time have been
books. The very titles of them have a Puritan c
as 'The Sick Man's Salve,' 'A Potation for Len
Pleasant New Nosegay.' Their wisdom is simp
adorned, recalling the homeliness of Latimer.†
the author of the 'Homily on Whoredom' in the
book of Homilies, where it is evident that he v
tomed to plain speaking, and to the use of words t
leave any doubt about his meaning. Another pe
Becon, is his frequent quotation of the Apocrypha
He had a fondness for the lessons of wisdom, reg
ordinary affairs of daily life, in which the Ap
scarcely surpassed by any portion of the canonical
He denied the distinction between bishop and
maintaining that there are but two orders in t
bishops or presbyters, and deacons. He advoca
storation of what he called the old custom of el
nisters, when the names of some 'good and godly
submitted to the chief inhabitants of a town or p
after fasting, prayer, and hearing a sermon on th
pastor and people, proceeded to election. Then o
ters laid their hands on the head of him that was
mitting him to the ministry 'without albe, ves
cope, and without docking, greasing, or shaving.'
unlike the custom which, he said, prevailed in t
Church, where a man was made a priest by a b

* Becon had been chaplain to Arch-
bishop Cranmer.

† Here is advice to parents: 'If they
be sons whom they intend to set forth
in marriage, let them provide godly
virtuous maids to be their wives, as
may say with Sara, young Tobias'

to command, but ready
except it be to eat and
company with some he
at the dice and cards,
play upon a lute or pai
etc.; but let them be suc
their hands to work, he
necessary such thing

the help of another priest, or with the assistance of a bishop's scribe or secretary. The elect or invisible Church was the Church which could not err. In expounding the Apostles' Creed, he said that he believed *in* God, but he believed the Church, that is, he believed that there was such a thing as the Church, but he did not trust in it. Sacraments, he called signs and figures of God's grace. They preach to the eyes as the word of God preaches to the ear.* If the sacraments could give grace, salvation would be of works.

The scruples which many of the Reformed clergy had about the dresses and ceremonies, were overcome partly by the arguments of the Reformers abroad, who recommended conformity as to things indifferent, and partly by explanations that they were not connected with any superstitions. But there were some to whom the ceremonies were idolatry, and the dresses relics of Antichrist. Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, and Humphreys, President of Magdalen, corresponded with Bullinger and Peter Martyr without being convinced that it was not a mortal sin to wear a surplice or a square cap.† The number of the clergy who participated in the scruples of Sampson and Humphreys must have been considerable. When Parker summoned to Lambeth a hundred clergymen, and exhibited one Thomas Cole canonically robed, with 'a square cap, a scholar's gown priestlike, tippet, and in the church a linen surplice,' only sixty-one out of the

* 'Christ plainly and purely ministered the sacrament to His disciples without any ceremonies; the Papists must have censers, bells, candles, candlesticks, paxes, corporasses, super-altaries, altar cloths, cruets, napkins, besides their dowkings and loutings, their turnings, and returnings, their gaspings and gapings, their kneeling, and winking, their mockings and mowings, their crossings and knockings, their kissings and lickings, their noddings and nosings, their washings and wipings, their bowings and bleatings, and as I may speak nothing of their prostrations and inclinations. of

† Bullinger wrote to Sampson and Humphreys concerning the habits: 'For the sake of decency and comeliness of appearance such a regulation may be made. If a cap and habit not unbecoming a minister and free from superstition are commanded to be used by the clergy, no one can reasonably assert that Judaism is revived; nor do I see why it should be unlawful to use, in common with Papists, a vestment not superstitious, but pertaining to civil regulation and good order. — *Zurich Letters*.

Peter Martyr wrote to Sampson, 'You may therefore use those habits

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Convocation
about equally
divided as to
conformity.

Rise of the
Puritans.

hundred were willing to be robed after the fashion of Cole.* They wrote their names with a *Nolo*, and losing their benefices to wearing a surplice. In 1562 after the XXXIX. Articles were subscribed in Convocation petitions were presented in both Houses against baptism, baptism by women, the sign of the cross, copes, surplices, saints' days and kneeling at the communion. In the Lower House one of the most sweeping of petitions was supported by fifty-eight members with only nine against it. Another petition of the same year subscribed by thirty-three members of Convocation five were Deans, one a Provost of Eton, twelve Archdeacons and twelve Proctors. It is not now possible to ascertain the number of the clergy who had these scruples. In some dioceses conformity was not enforced, and many followed Peter Martyr's advice to conform until the objectionable ceremonies were legally removed.

It is difficult to describe the party which about 1560 or soon after got the name of Puritans. The term was generic, and included men of widely different views. Coverdale, Hooper, and Coverdale might be called Puritans, indeed many of Elizabeth's first bishops. Historians of the word came to mean those who never entirely conformed, those who suffered for nonconformity. But the term might be divided and subdivided. The royal supremacy was not objected to by any of the earlier Reformers. Under Henry it meant simply the rejection of the supremacy of the Pope. But under Elizabeth there was a vague belief that the Church should be governed by its own officers and not by a civil ruler. To this undefined belief a partial conception was made, when the Queen rejected Henry's proud title of Supreme Head of the Church. She was to be the 'governor' of the Church on the ground that the Church was one of the pillars of the realm within her realm. Christ was the Head, and the Queen was the ruler under Him. This satisfied the scruples of the more conscientious prelates. But when the Queen enforced on

rebelled, her government seemed to them to conflict with what was due to the true Head of the Church. Among those who scrupled conformity, there grew up gradually a belief that the Church should be governed by Church officers. They began to ask if Christ had not given laws to His Church; if the New Testament did not lay down a scheme of Church government, and if so, were they to obey God or man? It was argued that if God's providence is over the Church, the Scriptures must contain such a scheme of government. God had prescribed the worship of the Jews, even to the minutest rites. Was it likely that He who thus provided for the people of Israel under the old law should leave the Church under the Gospel to the arbitrary will of princes?

The leader of this party was Thomas Cartwright, a Cambridge Professor of Theology. He supposed that he found a system of government clearly prescribed for the Church in the New Testament, and that this system was identical with the discipline that had been established at Geneva. The Reformers who had been in exile had no special objections to this scheme of government. Even those who were unwilling to introduce it in England considered it good in itself, and suitable for the Churches of France and Geneva in the circumstances in which they had been placed. But a divine origin, except in a vague and limited sense, had not been claimed for it even by Calvin himself.

Cartwright is for us a figure of considerable importance. He was the first who gave tangible form and expression to the Presbyterianism of the Church of England. He was the earliest complete incarnation of Puritanism, on its controversial and theological side. To him the Bible was an 'infallible book,' literally 'God's word,' not depending for its authority on the testimony of the Church, nor to be interpreted by the reason of man, but shining by its own light. It asks from human reason not an inquiry into its claims, but an humble submission to its laws. The proofs that the Bible is the word of God, are drawn from the matter and excellency of the Scriptures. Truth there preserves an equal level. 'un-

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The Bible its
own witness.

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except it be
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the Bible.

Cartwright
complains of
the severity of
the bishops.

the Bible to carry its own miraculous evidence along with it. 'No pen of man,' he says, 'is able to lodge so much in so small room, and with such facility of speech. Moreover, 'the word of God has such an effect and power in men, both in good and bad, as will easily sort it all from all men's words.' The Church in a sense is a pillar of truth, but in what sense is not very clear. The Fathers and Councils may have excluded books that are canonical. Cartwright says the Church being the pillar and ground of truth, it is impossible that it can err in its judgment of the whole canon. The Scriptures being received as the word of God, every letter infallibly inspired, and being the only light which God has given to man, it follows that there is no morality or well-doing but among those who receive light from them. Tyndale and Latimer, as we have seen, denied the possibility of anything but an unchristian morality among the heathen. Cartwright goes even further in this, affirming that 'chastity in Papist women is not true chastity, nor obedience in their children true obedience,' because they had not learned these things 'in the school of the

In 1570 Cartwright wrote 'An Admonition to the Clergy to be more diligent in the discharge of their duty, and to holden in the thirteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth.*' He spoke of the rigour of the bishops of the last six or seven years as unbearable. He called them wicked. All the best Reformed Churches were against them. Once, he said, these very bishops were of the same

* There are two Admonitions to the Clergy presented to Parliament. Neal says that the first was written by Field and Wilcox, who presented it to the House, for which they were committed to Newgate. The second was written by Cartwright. The occasion of this 'Admonition' was the enforcing these three articles: (1) That the book commonly called the Book of Common Prayer for the Church of England authorized by Parliament, and all and every the contents therein, be such as are not repugnant to the word of God.

England, be not wicked nor disobedient to the word of God, but tolerated for the sake of order and obedience. (2) That the articles which only concern the faith and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book of Articles whereon it was agreed by the Archbishops, etc. and every one of them contain true and godly doctrines. (3) That the mottoes of the 'Admonition' be such as shall be put upon the Babel round about, all ye that be of the bow, shoot at her, spare not, for she hath sinned against the Lord our God.

we are, but since their consecration they have become quite transmuted. The Parliament is exhorted not only to abandon 'Popish remnants and ceremonies,' but to bring in and to place in God's Church only those things which 'the Lord Himself in His word commandeth.' It was admitted that the doctrine preached by the conformable clergy was sound and good, but then, as Cartwright had said of 'the chastity of Papist women,' it did not come as it had been prescribed in the word. The ministers were not 'proved, elected, called, or ordained.' In the early Church the candidate for the ministry was examined as to his ability to teach, and inquiry was made of his godly conversation. But now by 'letters commendatory of some one man, noble or other, tag and rag, learned and unlearned, of the basest sort of the people, to the scandal of the gospel in the mouths of the adversaries, are freely received.' In the primitive times, idolatrous sacrificers or heathenish priests were not appointed preachers of the Gospel, but now the Church is full of the 'Popish massmongers, men for all seasons, King Henry's priests, Queen Mary's priests, who if the word of God were precisely followed should be utterly renounced.' In the old times the congregation had power to call ministers, now all is done by buying and selling of preferments. The bishop appoints the minister without consulting the people, and often a man is instituted whom the people 'justly dislike for his dishonest life and lack of learning.' The remedy was to remove advowsons, patronages, impropriations, and the authority to ordain claimed by bishops, and to return to the primitive custom of election by the people. Cartwright's arguments have most weight when he assails the manifest evils of the Church. His plea against reading Homilies was, that faith cometh not by hearing of Homilies but by the word of God; and he found a conclusive argument against keeping saints' days in the Fourth Commandment which said, 'Six days shall thou labour.' The service of the Prayer Book, he regarded as interfering with the order of the word, as it is given us in the Bible. The Psalms

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people were about to die, and the *Magnificat* as if celebrating the memory of the Virgin or of John the Baptist. It was considered out of place to pray for deliverance from thunder and tempest when no danger threatened. To pray that *all men might be saved* was not merely out of place but out of reason, and contrary to the words of Scripture. The liturgy was described as a profanation of the Sacrament. The conformists pleaded that it had the sanction of the martyrs, and that they were following the footsteps of Bishop Ridley. Cartwright answered that they ought to follow Bishop Hooper, who was a martyr as well as Ridley, but the martyrs did not die for the Prayer Book. They died for God's book. Even in King Edward's days they did not all conform to the orders of the liturgy.

John Whitgift.

'The Admonition to Parliament' was answered by Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who afterwards succeeded Grindal in the Primacy. Whitgift has always been known as zealous in the cause of Protestantism. He was not disposed to defend the evils and abuses of the government of the Church of which Cartwright complained, but he earnestly defended the established order as becoming in itself, and preferable to the discipline of the Reformation. Whitgift treated Cartwright not as a disciple of Calvin, but as a restless, perverse innovator on ancient laws and customs. Of Calvin he always spoke with respect, and appealed frequently to his judgment as to that of a truly great man, to whom deference was due. Indeed throughout his life he answered this appeal to Calvin, Zwingli, and the other Reformers on the duty of submission to a general order.

Defends the order of the Church.

* Here is Cartwright's description of Church worship in his day:—'The people, some standing, some talking, some praying by themselves, attend not to the minister. He again posteth over it as fast as he can gallop; for either he hath two places to serve, or else there are some games to be played in the church.'

must be played in the church. The people sit, and now they stand. When the Old Testament was given, they make no reverence, but worship cometh then they all stand. Why? They think that to be the best authority, and are ignorant that the Scriptures came from the mouth of God.

markable, as coming from one who is known chiefly as the great enemy of the Elizabethan Puritans. Cartwright is classed with the men of whom St. Paul spoke, who knew nothing as they ought to know,—the contentious and vain-glorious, who provoked one another and envied one another. It is denied that the Puritans were treated with severity. They had a custom, Whitgift said, of crying persecution when they did not get all they wanted. Lack of severity is declared to be the principal cause of their licentious liberty.* As to popular elections in old times, Whitgift rejected the case of the choosing of Matthias as a precedent, on the ground that both the office and the calling were extraordinary. Against the election of the clergy by the people he advanced this notable argument, 'that the Church now being full of hypocrites, dissemblers, drunkards, and whoremongers, they would choose ministers like themselves.'

The favourite part of the Geneva discipline was the eldership, by which a body of elders or seniors were appointed for government in every congregation. Whitgift, though refusing to admit that this was the meaning of the eldership or presbyteries mentioned in the New Testament, yet allowed that in the primitive Church, before princes and magistrates were Christian, this was the kind of government that prevailed. It was not meant to be permanent, and he quoted St. Ambrose, who says that both the name and the office of these seniors were extinguished before his day, for diversity of time and place required diversity of government in the Church. As to external ceremonies and ecclesiastical polity, the Church was left free. There were things done in the Apostles' times which are not binding on the Church now. Then they lived under tyrants, baptism was performed in rivers, and the disciples had all things in common. If the Christian Church was left free to adapt its government to the circumstances of different times and countries, it followed that rites and customs were not necessarily

* Whitgift says, 'You are as gently of friendliness if you could be content

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wrong because they were not enjoined in Scripture, not the example of the primitive Church. Things necessary to salvation must indeed be found in Scripture, but to come to ceremonies, it is not even determined in the Testament which day of the week is to be kept Sabbath.

Whitgift
Erastian.

Whitgift was confessedly Erastian. In answer to Cartwright he fell back upon broad principles of reason. His definition of preaching as not reading homilies, by claiming the word, he answered by saying that to preach the gospel was to instruct the people in faith and good works, which might be done either 'by writing or reading, or speaking without book.' He accused Cartwright of presenting the doctrine of the Church, where he said the conforming clergy attributed to the water in baptism what is proper only to the work of God in the heart of Christ. 'You know very well,' said Whitgift, 'that I teach far otherwise, and that it is a certain and true doctrine of all such as do profess the gospel, that the outward signs of the sacraments do not contain in them grace, neither that the grace of God is of necessity tied unto the outward signs; then describes them as 'seals,' 'testimonies,' and 'signs,' by which God works, as by instruments in the hands of men, to be believed.

Denies sacraments confer grace.

Whitgift maintains that some must have authority in the Church.

Cartwright's arguments for the equality of ministers were disposed of with the remark that there is equality in nature, but not in office. The celestial spirits are not equal. The stars are not equal. The Apostles themselves were not equal. In every church there must be members inferior as well as superior. Christ forbade His disciples to be called Rabbi, and He said of him who desired to be great was to humble himself. Where has He forbidden that some should have authority in the Church. In rejecting every rite or custom that prevailed before the Reformation because it had been used by the Church of Rome, Whitgift likened Cartwright and his followers to the Arians of old, who resolved to do the contrary to what the Church did. This was a very dangerous position to take.

To Whitgift's 'Answer' Cartwright wrote a long 'Reply.' This evoked from Whitgift a 'Defence of the Answer.' The 'Defence,' in which Whitgift quoted for refutation the greater part of the 'Reply,' extended over 800 folio pages. Whitgift declares the essential difference between him and his opponent to consist of these 'two false principles and rotten pillars, (1) that we must have the same kind of government that was in the Apostles' times and is expressed in Scripture and no other; and (2) that we must not in anywise or upon any consideration retain in the Church anything that hath been abused under the Pope.' It did not require an immense volume to refute these two positions, but the controversialists wandered into every minute question that could possibly arise out of their discussion, even to the lawfulness of compelling the Catholics to receive the sacrament, which Whitgift defended; while Cartwright said they should only be compelled to hear 'the word,' and if that did not convert them they were to be punished. Cartwright wrote 'The first part of a second Reply,' and afterwards 'The rest of the second Reply.' This begins with a chapter 'Against Civil Offices in Ecclesiastical Persons.' Their business is to preach the kingdom of God. To them were addressed the words of Jesus, *Let the dead bury their dead*. Christ refused to perform the office of a judge, and so should His ministers. The keys delivered to Peter were spiritual; civil keys belong rightly to those who hold offices of state. Whitgift had already asked if the ruling eldership could not be filled by those who held the office of magistrate. As Cartwright had called the eldership an ecclesiastical office, he was compelled to admit that the elders might have the keys, both civil and spiritual. To the practical question if the minister of religion should also hold a civil office, he answered that one was enough for one man, while Whitgift said that by holding civil offices ecclesiastical persons found help to perform their spiritual.

The next chapter was intended to demonstrate 'that the Church government by an eldership in every congre-

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Deacons not
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and Barnabas ordained elders in every church.' The ship was declared to be the continuation of the Jewish *hedrim*. For the existence of these elders in the Church, Cartwright adduces the testimony of the St. Cyprian describes their office as assisting the bishop in dividing the communion bread into equal portions, and giving it in little baskets or trays.' In the African Valerius, the Bishop of Hippo, committed the office of giving to Augustine, an elder, which was remarked at as contrary to custom. Socrates mentions that in the of Alexandria there was a decree passed, 'that elders no more teach.' The bishop only had right to preach to administer the sacraments. Tertullian and Jerome testify that the elders were not to baptize, but in necessity and by licence of the bishop. Their office did not embrace the ministry of the word and sacraments. They had the government of the Church, from which it follows that the power of excommunication rested in them solely in the bishops.

After establishing the divine origin of the episcopate, Cartwright proceeds to prove that deacons were not preachers, but persons appointed to care for the poor. This was their sole duty was difficult to establish from what is recorded of Philip and Stephen: but Cartwright said that Philip's diaconate had ceased when he became an Evangelist; and that Stephen did not preach, but defended himself from the accusations of the Jews. The objection by private persons was objected to, on the ground that the administration of sacraments belongs only to those who have the office of teaching. In the remaining chapters, Cartwright treats of several other subjects, as the faults of the Prayer Book, the 'Popish apparel' of the clergy, and the necessity that in our ceremonies we should not be Antichristian. He objects to the word priest, the sign of the cross in marriage, and the ring in marriage.

The only chapter of what we may call doctrinal

ments are chiefly drawn from the Old Testament, as 1 Chron. xix., where we find that certain priests and scribes had the government of things belonging to the Church, while those of the State were committed to other persons. To this Whitgift replied that in both cases the power was committed to them by Jehoshaphat the king. Cartwright also adduces many cases in the history of the Church where the bishops asserted their authority against that of the emperors, as when Ambrose refused to have a Church matter referred to Valentinian, and when Augustine reproached the Donatists with preferring the decision of the emperor to that of the bishop. This question had already been debated between the Reformers and the Roman Catholics. The Reformation had proceeded on the principle that our most certain remedy for deliverance from the evils of ecclesiastical government was in the protection of the civil ruler.

When Whitgift was promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, the controversy with the Puritans devolved on Richard Hooker. This new apologist for conformity had been educated under Puritan influence,* and like Whitgift himself, though no lover of the Geneva discipline, had a profound reverence for Calvin. Hooker is on all sides admitted to have been the greatest intellect that had yet appeared in the Reformed Church of England, and all parties agree to receive him as the wisest exponent of her doctrines and the truest incarnation of her spirit. Therefore it is that every party claims Hooker as on their side. One of his modern editors, John Keble, has been at great pains to prove that he defended the divine origin of Episcopacy, in opposition to the claim of Cartwright for the divine origin of Presbytery. That Keble has succeeded none will admit but those who are of Keble's party.† Had this been

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* Hooker had for his tutor at Oxford, Dr. John Rainolds, the most learned of the Elizabethan Puritans.

† Such passages as the following, sufficiently declare Hooker's position:—Which divisions and contentions

tendered them unto the people as things everlastingly required by the law of that Lord of Hosts against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this it came to pass that one Church could not but condemn

CHAP. II.⁹

Hooker's belief, the longest and most elaborate argument the 'Ecclesiastical Polity' would have been un-
 This is the judgment that every impartial man must pronounce, previous to the inquiry concerning the genuineness of the last three books. And when he comes to them and finds the undeniable evidence of interpolation in an Episcopalian or Presbyterian, there is no choice but to throw them out of the reckoning, for the divine origin of Episcopacy is there both affirmed and denied. Hooker, by the five books that were published in his lifetime, is satisfied with refuting the claims of the 'Discipline' founded on Scripture, with maintaining the antiquity and expediency of Episcopacy, and with resisting the innovations on rites and ceremonies established in the Church.

The last three books to be left out of the reckoning.

Hooker defends the divinity of order.

Order is divine. Therefore Hooker begins not with a defence of the divinity of any particular form of Church government, but with a general dissertation on the nature of law, setting forth the origin and object of different kinds of laws. He has admitted that Calvin had done well in establishing a discipline at Geneva. Deprived suddenly of the civil government, the people were fickle. They had banished him and recalled him again. He returned, but on the condition that they would accept a discipline which would bind them to order, and prevent any future expression of their mutability. So far Calvin did well, but he erred when he began to maintain that the special form of government which he had established was of divine origin. His followers soon claimed for the ruling eldership the power of the keys, and the authority to excommunicate even kings and princes. Hooker denies explicitly that in Scripture there must be established a form of Church government. Discipline is necessary everywhere, but there is no necessity that it be everywhere the same. Throughout the world there is need of order, but from this, he says, does not follow the necessity of a particular form of government.

men should speak one language. 'Even so,' he concludes, 'the necessity of polity and regiment in all churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary to them all.'

The Church, so far, is left in possession of a rational freedom. It is guided by a public reason. The Scriptures which contain the supernatural light, presuppose in man the existence of a natural light. There are many things which we may do for the glory of God which are not commanded in Scripture. In the use of this natural light, we should not despise the judgment of grave and learned men. Here we learn a reverence for antiquity, and the order established by those who have lived before us. That order was the expression of their sense of law, which, as Sophocles said, 'is no child of to-day or yesterday's birth.' For the private reason to depart from the decisions of the public reason is to engender confusion. We are not to be tied to authority when there is a reason to the contrary. This Hooker calls 'brutish,' yet we are not to think our *yea* as good as the *nay* of all the wise and learned men of the world. The disciples of Jesus did not despise the judgment even of the scribes. Elias they thought must first come, for the scribes had said it. The order and ceremonies of which the Puritans complained were good in themselves. They did not belong to any sect, but were the ancient rites and customs of the Church of Christ. That they have been abused to purposes of superstition by the Church of Rome is no reason for our rejecting them. To do so would be to imitate the unreasonableness of the old Romans, who because of the wickedness of Tarquinius Superbus, banished every ruler who bore the name of Tarquin. After establishing these principles, Hooker's argument culminates in the fifth book, with a special defence of all the rites and ceremonies to which Cartwright had objected in his controversy with Whitgift. The objection had been that there was no command for these things in Scripture, and the inference was that they were therefore not of faith and not being of faith were of

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CHAP. II. reason, which is to be our guide where Scripture
— spoken.

Hooker added
nothing to the
answers to the
Puritans.

It cannot be said that Hooker added anything to answers that were made to the Puritans. He carried the question up to a higher region, where the atmosphere was purer. The Puritan was not without a sense of the atmosphere of which Hooker discoursed. He believed, however, that the Reformation was not furthered but hindered by the retention of the old rites and ceremonies that had been in the Church of Rome. The Puritans had rejected many things that had been for ages in the Church. We had protested against the Papal supremacy, and against much of the teaching of the Church of Rome. When asked, are we to conclude that what is retained is the true Church, the expression of a divine order than what has been rejected? The Puritans could not see the force of Hooker's disquisition about law as urged against them. They agreed with Hooker as to the abstract divinity of order, but not to him the order established in the Church was the expression of the divine order. The discipline of Geneva was a new beginning. It was modern. It was local. The discipline of Episcopacy, on the other hand, was ancient. It was traced to the times of the Apostles. It was universal. We know of no churches that were without bishops. In the matters of detail, Hooker only reasoned as others who advocated conformity. If he differed it was not because that he was not guided by mere expediency or conservatism, but by a conviction that in being conservative he was faithful to the universal principle of order, which is rational and divine.

Hooker a
Rationalist. ✓

In a general sense, with many qualifications, Hooker's position might be explained as that of the Rationalist, as opposed to the Scripturalist. The Puritans, as represented by Cartwright, denied the natural light, that they might give greater glory to the supernatural. Hooker, on the other hand, vindicated the use of reason within certain limits. The supernatural light presupposed, he said, the natural light.

of God. This is one of the things we cannot know by the Scriptures themselves, so that reason is the instrument of faith. When we speak to men of God, we suppose them in possession of a faculty to understand and to judge something of what we tell them. It was St. Augustine's judgment that there are rational principles, on which men are universally agreed, and out of which the greatest moral duties we owe to God and man may without difficulty be gathered. So far Hooker defended reason and the light of nature, but he denied that God had given to man such natural reason as could lead him to a knowledge of salvation. He endorses a saying of Lactantius, that God would not suffer men to find out truth except by supernatural revelation. Without faith, hope, and charity, there can be no salvation, and of these 'there is no mention but in the revealed gospel.' Nature teaches nothing of the resurrection of the flesh, and it is only the gospel which tells us that concupiscence is sin. Cartwright said that the heathen sent men to the light of reason for the difference between good and evil, but the Apostles to the school of Christ. His word *only* can give us assurance and resolution in our doings. Hooker objected to the word 'only.' From which we are to conclude that he held reason or the light of nature able to teach us our duty, but unable to lead us to the knowledge of salvation.

The occasion of Hooker's being involved in the Puritan controversy was the circumstance of a personal collision with one of the Puritan leaders. The Master of the Temple, John Alvey, had died. Alvey was a Puritan, and greatly esteemed by the benchers. It was his wish that he might be succeeded by Walter Travers, who was afternoon lecturer. But Whitgift, with whom the patronage rested, was not favourable to Travers, and gave the preferment to Hooker. Travers continued for some time in the lectureship, refuting in the afternoon what Hooker had preached in the morning, and Hooker again in the morning replying to the arguments of Travers. The Archbishop rudely silenced Travers, taking advantage of the circumstance that he had been ordained

CHAP. II. Travers addressed 'A Supplication to the Council,

he argued that a man who had taken his degree at any university was a Doctor throughout Christendom. The Church of Rome, a priest ordained in one country was a priest in all countries, and moreover, by an express statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, it was decreed that those who were otherwise than by bishops were to exercise their ministry in England. The case of Whittingham, the Dean of Exeter, was adduced as proof of the position that Presbyterianism was a legal qualification for preferment.*

In the 'Supplication' Travers discoursed of the relation of faith to reason, and of the Church of Rome. On these subjects Hooker treated in his two sermons on 'The Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect' and on 'Justification by Faith'. Hooker, as we have seen, differed from the Puritans in maintaining that it is by reason we know the Scripture word of God, and in holding that the certainty of our knowledge concerning what we believe is less than concerning what we perceive by the senses. This followed from his position

Scripture and
reason.

reason is first and Scripture next. He could not believe in the gospel without reason. The first outward motive which leads to belief in the Scriptures is, he says, the authority of the Church. Then we read them, and are assured that the Church has not misled us. Reason, as it were, confirms our belief. He distinguished between *a certainty of evidence* and *a certainty of adherence*. When a thing is manifest to us we have a certainty of evidence. This is the case with matters known by the senses, or by infallible demonstration. Matters of faith are only discerned spiritually by those whose hearts God kindles the light of grace. This is the *certainty of adherence*. What is believed in this way is more certain than what sense reveals, but it is not so certain. In one place Hooker calls it an inward belief, an intuition which God gives to His elect, and he says that this intuition is a kind of reason, or at least it does not exclude reason. We never doubt of what is evidenced by sense or demonstrated by reasoning, but as to matters of faith, we are not so certain.

faith, he asks who is there that does not sometimes doubt? CH
 It is said of Abraham that 'he did not doubt,' which is ex- The
 explained that he had not the doubts of infidelity though he of fai
 was not without those of infirmity. God works in all that from
 certainty which is sufficient for their salvation, but in none taint;
 that which in this life reaches perfection. The faith of true dence
 believers has many downfalls, but it 'convinces invincibly' and is conqueror in the end. In the second book of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity' there is a remarkable definition of faith, which might legitimately include among believers ordained to eternal life, the earnest men of the pagan world. Hooker is refuting Cartwright's favourite doctrine that good can alone be done by those who have learnt it out of the Scriptures, a doctrine which was supposed to be established by the text 'that whatsoever is not of faith is sin.' Cartwright said it was impossible that there could be faith but in respect of the word of God. Hooker admitted that in the first and ordinary sense of faith, it meant belief of certain things on the testimony of witnesses. But the faith of which St. Paul speaks in the Epistle to the Hebrews does not come under this description. Hooker and Cartwright agreed that it was 'a full persuasion that that which we do is well done,' but, as in Cartwright's judgment well-doing can only be known by the Scriptures, this persuasion could only exist in the minds of those to whom the Scriptures were made known. Hooker, who did not set these limits to our knowledge of right, said there might be a certain belief grounded upon other assurance than Scripture. He quotes Cicero as expressing a doctrine of faith identical with St. Paul's, where he says, 'That nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubtest whether it be right or wrong.' From this we might infer that a heathen who had never heard of Christ might yet have faith. Hooker however refuses to allow the inference. He denies that the heathen could have held the foundation of Christianity. It was urged by some that they acknowledged the providence of God, His wisdom, goodness, and mercy; that they looked forward to a future judgment, when the righteous would be Can
 have
 faith

CHAP. II.

Hooker on
Justification.

To which Hooker answered that the first principles of knowledge do not constitute knowledge, and that an acorn is an oak actually, whatever it may be virtually.

The other sermon, that on 'Justification,' relates to the teaching of the Church of Rome. To a Puritan like Hooker the Church of Rome could only appear as the Church of Antichrist. Salvation, among the genuine disciples of Christ, came to man only in virtue of election, which was not followed by that faith which was the condition of justification; a condition not performed *by* the believer, but present *in* the believer. To this extent Hooker was legitimately committed to the same kind of opposition to the Church of Rome as his opponent, for to this extent he too was of Calvin. But he was not committed to the 'Double Effect' of He did not reckon it necessary to constitute a Church of Rome, then, might be a true though imperfect Church. Our forefathers who lived in the times of superstition, and believed the errors of the Church of Rome, have been saved. This was not denied by Trinitarianism. Hooker gave as the reason their ignorance. This was as if ignorance was the instrumental cause of their salvation. Hooker explained that they were saved by the knowledge of Christ, which might be learned in the Church of Rome. Their ignorance excused their errors. But no excuse could be made for us who know better. Hooker maintains that the Church of Rome perfectly agrees with Protestant teaching that 'Christ hath merited to make us just, without 'the application of His merits' there can be no justification. They join other things, but not to the redemption. They differ from us not as to the remedy that has been provided, but as to the mode of the application of that remedy. The Protestant doctrine is that we are saved just because of the righteousness of Christ. We were counted righteous once for all. The Church of Rome teaches justifying righteousness a quality inherent in us. It is a work that progresses. Grace is applied 'by holy Ave Marias, crossings, Papal salutations, and

satisfying God for sin, and a virtue to *merit* grace here and glory hereafter.' This, it is admitted, is not a direct denial of the faith, but it is indirect and tends to its overthrow. Hooker is conscious of an ambiguity in the word *merit*. He explains that there is a sense in which works may be called justifying and meritorious. He tells us that by *meriting*, the ancient Fathers meant *obtaining*. But after all this pleading for the Church of Rome, he says in this very sermon that since he began to understand this doctrine, he judged the Church of Rome an enemy to Christ's merits. And in another sermon, 'Of the Nature of Pride,' after quoting the words of the Rhemes Commentators that *works are the price of the joys of heaven, and heaven the very stipend of the hired labourer*, he pronounces such sentiments more full 'of Lucifer than of Christ.' Still the Church of Rome holds the foundation. If it denied this directly it could be no true Church, but while the denial is only indirect, we must hold it for a member of Christ.

Travers was the author of a Latin book on the 'Discipline.*' This book was translated into English by Cartwright, and was reckoned the standard authority on the subject. It laid down a system of Church government the same as what we now call Presbyterian. It was maintained that this system was directly educed from the Scriptures, and it denounced those who left Church government to the civil magistrate or the judgment of the people, as persons who robbed Christ of His offices as prophet, priest, and king.

The only reply to Hooker which manifested marked ability was called 'A Christian Letter of certain English Protestants to Master R. Hooker.' It has been ascribed to Cartwright, but without sufficient reason. There is nothing in it which is like Cartwright. It was said that Hooker was so sensible of its force that it hastened his death. It charged him with undermining the faith of the Church of England as set forth in the XXXIX. Articles. The writers collected a series of passages out of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' and placed alongside of them passages from the Articles

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CHAP. II.

Hooker said
to contradict
Art. I.

Hooker says 'the Father alone is that Deity which originally is not,'* and again, 'the co-eternity of the Son with His Father and the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son are in Scripture nowhere found by express literal mention.'† The authors of the *Letter* call the first Arianism, comparing it to the Arianism of Arius. 'There was when the Son was not.' Hooker intends in the context that what Christ had was *given* but not *eternally*, which is not in agreement with Arianism as expressed in this formula, which fixes a time when the Son was not existent. The authors of the *'Letter'* said of the second quotation that this kind of statement was likely to raise scruples in weak minds. They say moreover that the co-eternity of the Son with the Father was clearly contained in the words of Wisdom, 'I possessed me in the beginning,' and when Jesus said, 'He might be glorified with the glory which He had with His Father before the world was.'

Art. VI.

Hooker says, 'The insufficiency of the light of nature is supplied by the light of Scripture fully and perfectly supplied.'‡ 'It sufficeth that nature and Scripture do serve in such sort that they both jointly, and not severally either, be so complete that unto everlasting felicity we need not the knowledge of anything more than these two.' The authors of the *'Letter'* consider this as opposed to Article VI., concerning the sufficiency of Scripture for salvation. They ask if there is any natural light, or knowledge necessary to salvation, which is not expressed in Holy Scripture. If there is not, why is nature joined to Scripture as necessary to salvation? If there is, then Art. VI. is at fault. They deny that human nature knows anything of God which is not expressed in Scripture, or that moral virtues are rightly taught except by the word of God, and they think this is established by the fact that there is salvation in no other but in Jesus Christ.

Hooker says, 'It is not the word of God which possibly can assure us that we do well to this'

outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scriptures is the authority of God's Church,' . . . 'it presumeth us otherwise taught that itself is divine and sacred.*' The authors of the Letter ask that this be compared with the words of Jewel, 'In time of dissension it is most behoofefull for the people to have recourse unto the Scriptures.' The word of God, they maintain, is not to derive its authority from the Church, but from its own spiritual power. St. Paul sought his testimony in the conversion of the heart.

Hooker says, 'There is in the will of man naturally that freedom whereby it is apt to take or refuse any particular object whatsoever being presented unto it.†' And, again, 'There is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough for itself, if reason were diligent to search it out.' Art. X. says that 'we have no power to do good Art. works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.'

Hooker says, 'I will not dispute whether truly it may not be said that penitent both weeping and fasting are means to blot out sins.‡' Art. XI. says 'that we are justified by Art. faith only.'

Hooker says, 'God's very commandments in some kind, as namely His precepts comprehended in the law of nature, may otherwise be known than only by Scripture, and that to do them, howsoever we know them, must needs be acceptable in His sight.§' Art. XIII. says that 'Works done before the Art. grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God,' that 'not being done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, they have the nature of sin.'

Hooker says, 'God approveth much more than He doth command.||' Art. XIV. says, 'Voluntary works besides, over Art. and above, God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety.'

Hooker says, 'though we cannot be free from all sin col-

CHAP. II. sense to be preserved from all sin, is not impossible
 Art. XV. XV. says that though we be 'born again in Christ
 offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin
 ceive ourselves.'

In defending the prayer that all men might be
 Hooker says, 'If any man doubt how God should accept
 prayers, . . . our answer is, that such suits God accept
 that they are conformable to His *general inclination*
 Art. XVII. is that all men might be saved.* Art. XVII. speaks
 some men 'chosen in Christ out of mankind.' If
 'by His counsel secret to us' are passed by, the au
 the Letter ask how can He have a general inclination
 all men might be saved?

Hooker says of the members of the Church of Ro
 gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus
 and again he calls the Church of Rome 'a limb of the
 Art. XIX. Church of God.† Art. XIX. says that 'The visible C
 Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the w
 pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments
 administered according to Christ's ordinance in
 things that of necessity are requisite to the same,' an
 that 'the Church of Rome hath erred in matters of

Hooker says, 'Touching our sermons, that whic
 them their very being is the will of man, and there
 oftentimes accordingly taste too much of that over
 fountain.'§ The authors of the Letter answer that p
 the pure word of God is the first mark of the visibl
 as defined in Art. XIX., and they call preaching
 natural gift of the Spirit.

Hooker, speaking of lay baptism, says, 'There is
 which beguileth many . . . by not distinguishing
 offices, and orders ecclesiastical, the first of which t
 in part the second, may be executed by the laity
 Art. XXIII. XXIII. says 'It is not lawful for any man to take
 the office of ministering the sacraments in the C
 tion before he be lawfully called, and sent to ex
 same.'

thors of the Letter say that Art. XXV. does not contain this account of them, and they ask where it is found that God ordained sacraments to tell us when God giveth grace, and that they are means conditional and as necessary as faith? CH Art.

Hooker says, 'Predestination bringeth not to life, without the grace of external vocation, wherein our baptism is implied.*' The authors of the Letter do not find this in Art. XXVII., and they find the contrary in Jewel and Babington. Art. The first of these says that 'the children of the faithful are born holy,' and the other says that 'a man may stand in the state of salvation and out of all danger of damnation before he be baptized.'

Hooker says, 'Sith we all agree that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform His promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation or else by transubstantiation the sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ or no?' The authors of the Letter answer that Art. XXVIII. says of Art. Transubstantiation that 'it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture' and 'overthroweth the nature of a sacrament,' and they add that surely was not an indifferent matter against which the Reformers gave their lives as witnesses. They conclude with a condemnation of Hooker's 'prefaces,' 'digressions,' and 'amplifications.' They did not see the necessity of the long disquisition about law proving things which nobody denied, and establishing abstract principles where the question was one of facts. They commended Whitgift as a better controversialist than Hooker, White because he came at once to the subject and pressed it to a ferred Hook definite issue, while Hooker only beguiled men 'with fair words and a melodious style.'

The 'Letter' was answered by Dr. William Covel in 'A Dr. C Just and Temperate Defence of the Five Books of the Ecclesiastical Polity and against an uncharitable Letter of certain Defen English Protestants.' There is nothing in this answer which is not in Hooker. Dr. Covel strongly advocated predestination, and showed great jealousy for the honour of Calvin.

CHAP. II. that it was good for Geneva but not suitable places.*

Dr. John
Bridges.

The controversy begun by Cartwright and Whitgift did not end with Hooker and Travers. The 'Discourse of Discipline' was answered by Dr. John Bridges, of Sarum. Bridges' work was a quarto volume, consisting of 1400 closely-printed pages, besides a 'Preface to the Christian Reader.' It was called 'A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England for Ecclesiastical Matters.'† The author was to refute Calvin, Beza, and Danæus. He was to overthrow the Puritan teachers, doctors, pastors, elders, and deacons. If we excuse the tedious length of Dr. Bridges' book, there is nothing especially to be said either for it or against it. The arguments were those of Hooker and Whitgift. The spirit was neither better nor worse than the spirit of the works written on the other side. He calls the Puritan teachers 'brethren,' and laments that there should be any difference between them. He says he would much rather be against the enemies of God's truth, by which he means the doctors of the Church of Rome, and he expressed his hope that they who were of the household of faith might bend their forces against the great Antichrist. 'So,' he says, 'as we jointly followed the quest of that beast and of the purple harlot on his back, God

* In Keble's Hooker there is an appendix containing a fragment of an answer by Hooker to the 'Christian Letter,' chiefly on the points of Predestination and Free-Will. Mr. Keble tries to show that Hooker was not so strongly Calvinistic on these points as Whitgift, but the evidence does not bear out the conclusion. In the Sermon on 'Justification,' Hooker says, 'God knew us, God loved us, was kind towards us in Christ Jesus, in Him we were elected to be heirs of life. Thus far God, through Christ, has wrought in such sort alone that ourselves are mere patients working

so much.' If this passage is to express the simple truth, man's capacity is from God, meaning but that of the Latins. In some respects Hooker had mentally outgrown the theology of Calvin, but he trembled to reject it.

† Bridges' work was not only a reply to Travers on the 'Discourse of Discipline,' but also to a multitude of other tracts that had been lately published. Forty-two of them were collected into one volume and published in 1612. In the same grave, the Puritan printers of them are against the

prospered us in all our affairs.' The Puritans compared their opponents to the Ammonites, and their opposition to the Discipline of Geneva to the contempt of Sanballat for the good laws of Nehemiah. They called the Papists Canaanites; and as the children of Canaan were driven out before the children of Israel, so, they said, should those who had conformed in Queen Mary's days be driven out of the Church. They prophesied of fire and tempest, earthquake and famine, if 'the Lord's Discipline' was not established in the land. Bridges answered that those who supported the Queen and the bishops were on the side of Nehemiah, that the old Canaanites were not expelled from Canaan when they conformed to the Jews' religion; and as for national calamities, 'God be praised,' he said, 'her majesty's reign have been the days of the halcyon's sitting in the nest most free from tempests of all other parts of God's Church, insomuch that it hath been a refuge and haven to harbour at anchor many other Churches that have indeed been tossed in the midst of many tempests.' The book, however, was not entirely free from the animosity of party. The author sneered at the frequency with which the Puritans called themselves the *godly* ministers. He charged them with coveting the dignity and maintenance of the bishops, and he questioned the sincerity of their affected gravity. 'God be praised,' he said, 'they are merry enough and in good liking, save that they put on a sour visour of mourning and terror.'

The publication of Dr. Bridges' work was the occasion of the famous Marprelate tracts.* The mysterious Martin

* Mr. Maskell, in his book, 'Martin Marprelate,' arranges the tracts in this order:—(1) The Epistle; (2) the Epitome; (3) An Admonition to the people of England; (4) Hay any worke for Cooper; (5) The appellation of John Penri; (6) A Dialogue; (7) M. Some laid open in his coulers; (8) The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat; (9) Theses Martinianæ; (10) The

Cauallero; (15) Martin's months minde; (16) Plaine Percevall the Peace-Maker of England; (17) A treatise on reformation, etc., by John Penry; (18) The First Parte of Pasquils Apologie. Of these, Mr. Maskell says, there are in the Bodleian Library, Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 9 to 17 inclusive; and, in the Museum Library, Nos. 1, 4, 11, 15, 16. This was in

CHAP. II. Marprelate had a secret press, which he set up

Martin's
Epistles
reckoned
libels.

Search for
Martin.

Kingston-on-Thames. It was afterwards traced to
amptonshire, and finally seized at Manchester by
of Derby. Martin's secret was never revealed. He
that he kept court with Queen Elizabeth, and that
often with the bishops when his presence was not su
but to the world he was never more than 'dust and a
The first of Martin's tracts began, 'Oh read ouer
Bridges, for it is a worthy worke.*' The argument
ordinary Puritan arguments, but it is not these whi
Martin's tracts remarkable. They expose the evil
Church. They rail at the bishops. They publish
stories about their doings. They are, or at lea
reckoned to be libels. Dean Bridges is asked whe
the money to purchase his deanery. In another
gives Bridges credit for some other gifts besides
'Thou knowest not,' Martin says, 'how I love thee
John, for thy wit and learning, as for thy godliness,
carry it in mine eie and see never a whit the wors
There was not much in the 'Epistle' to excite publ
tion. It was not remarkably clever, and the argum
been often repeated. The 'Epitome,'† which follow
after, reveals the eagerness of the search made for th
Martin, apparently safe in his hiding-place, ban

* 1. 'Oh read ouer D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy worke: or an Epitome of the fyrste Booke, of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest or elder, doctor of Diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answere M. Doctor, they must needes say something that hath bene spoken. Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt their Catechismes, and are past grace; By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate.'

let them be content with t
Epistle. Printed oversea,
within two furlongs of a
Priest, at the cost and cha
Marprelate, gentleman.'

† 'By the reverend an
Martin Marprelat gentlem
dicated by a second Epi
Terrible Priests. In thi
the foresaide Fickers, etc
insufficiently furnished, w
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And lest M. Doctor should
no man can write without
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bishops in this strain, 'Why my cleargie masters, is it even so with your terribleness, may not a pore gentleman signifie his good will vnto you by a letter, but presently you must put yourselves to the paines and charges of calling four bishops together,—John Canterburie, John London, Thomas Winchester, William of Lincolne and posting over cicie and countrie for poor Martin? Why his meaning in writing unto you, was not that you should take the paines to feel for him. Did you think that he did not know where he was himself, or did you think him to have been cleane lost, that you sought so diligently for him? I thanke you, brethren, I am well enough though you do not send to know how I be. My mind towards you, you shall from time to time understand by my pistles. I have been entertayned at the Court. Euerye man talks of my worship. Many would gladly receive my books if they could tell where to find them.'*

The four bishops were John Whitgift, John Aylmer, Thomas Cooper, and William Wickham. Martin's hatred to Whitgift is without measure. He will not allow that the Archbishop had either ability or learning. Whitgift was a rigid disciplinarian, and exercised unnecessary severity towards the Puritans. Beyond this, and his holding the 'Antichristian' and 'Popish' office of Archbishop, Martin has nothing against him. He says that Whitgift was a poor scholar at Peterhouse, which in itself was nothing disgraceful, but which the Archbishop's friends denied. The best thing we know of Whitgift is, that he promoted Richard Hooker; the worst we know of him is, that he silenced Walter Travers.

John Aylmer, Bishop of London, had less favour at Martin's hands than even Whitgift. His severity against the Puritans was not less than the Archbishop's, while his zeal in searching for them, and his vigilance in watching for any breach of conformity, were even greater. Aylmer had been

Whitgift
poor scholar
at Peterhouse

John

* In the errata to the 'Epitome,' stow a whole book upon him.' It is

CHAP. II.

Bishop Aylmer plays bowls on Sunday.

tutor to Lady Jane Grey, and had gained a great reputation in his youth for learning. He had courageously defended the cause of the Reformation, when by losing everything to lose and nothing to gain. He had endured hardships of exile, and was highly esteemed by his countrymen abroad. Had he perished in the Marian persecution, he would have gone to heaven in a chariot. Unfortunately he lived to be a bishop, and in this position he became earthly, covetous, and cantankerous. True beauty is beautiful when it first falls from heaven, but it lies in vain long on this sordid earth, its purity is not preserved. Martin calls him 'Dumb John of London,' because he never preached. This, however, is denied by Strype. In his younger days it is certain that he was a fervent and zealous preacher. When Bishop of London, he defended the custom of swearing by *his faith*, which he defended as only equivalent to *certainly* or *in truth*, and no more than *amen*. This we frequently meet in Martin of London's oath.' He played bowls on the lawn at Whitehall Palace on Sunday afternoons, on the principle that a bath was made for man, and that bodily exercise was as necessary as the Sunday's dinner. He used to be excused by the game that it was dangerous to speak lest his temper should break out with some more oath than *Amen*.*

* Aylmer's covetousness is a matter of history. Strype records that when he was made Bishop of London he demanded of his predecessor, Sandys, the previous half-year's income of the see; and a year or two before his death he tried to arrange for a successor on terms that would enable him to escape the dilapidations, which were very heavy, and for which some years afterwards his eldest son was compelled to pay £4000. He bought estates, lent moneys on mortgage, let out leases of the episcopal lands, some of them for one hundred years. He cut down the elms at Fulham Palace; and according to the testi-

mony of Mar-elm, an anagram on him, or, as it was sometimes called, Mar-elm, he refused to sign the man's bill after the man's death. When the executor died, the money, the Bishop was due, and ordered to be gone, calling the thieves, villains, cozeners, and calling them to 'take their blessing.' Strype maintains that one of Martin's virtues was that the Bishop paid the money when he was out of temper and as he always paid the money. But Martin was against Aylmer when

In the days of his youthful ardour Aylmer had written CH
 'An Harborowe for Faithful and True Subjectes,' in answer Wrote
 to John Knox's blast against the 'Monstrous Regiment of Harbo
 Women.' In this book there were strong words against
 the bishops, which did not escape the memory of Martin
 Marprelate. He called Aylmer 'a wicked bishop,' and 'a
 pattern of hypocrisie,' for taking upon him an office which he
 had declared to be unlawful. Aylmer had called the Com-
 munion Service 'a blistered masse,' and the bishops, be-
 cause of their rochets, he called 'rachetters.' To the
 bishops and clergy he had said, 'Howl and wail, not for
 the danger you stand in of losing your bishoprics and bene-
 fices, your pomp and your pride, your riches and welth, but
 that hel hath opened his mouth wide, and gapeth to swallow

executed, after having confessed that
 this was the cloth which they had
 stolen. The dyers applied for their
 property, but the Bishop refused to
 give it up till they had proved that
 it was theirs. Proof to satisfy the
 Bishop was never brought, and so he
 kept the cloth. 'The Bishop,' says
 Martin, 'knew as well as the owners
 to what good uses it could be put.'
 'It is very good blew, and so would
 serve well for the liveries of his men ;
 and it was very good green, fit to make
 quishions and couerings for tables.'
 'Brother London,' continues Martin,
 'you were best make restitution, it
 is playne theft, and horrible oppres-
 sion. Bonner would have blushed
 to have been taken in the like of it.'

Aylmer had admitted his gate-
 keeper at Fulham to the holy order of
 priesthood, because he was blind, and
 unable otherwise to get his living.
 The porter was made Rector of Pad-
 dington, because the inhabitants of
 that parish were so few, that a blind
 man could do all that was required of
 a clergyman. Martin says that cer-
 tainly he could not starve so many
 souls as the Bishop of London. The
 blindness of the porter was denied,
 and his ordination defended, because
 of the impoverished state of the parish
 of Paddington, through lax impro-

ties, to beat the Catholic faith into
 them. His successor, Aylmer, does
 not seem to have been less unwilling
 to use physical force. He had great
 courage, but as he was a man of small
 stature, he often found the contest
 unequal. There was in Essex a Lord
 Rich, with whom he had many strifes.
 This Lord Rich was a great favourer
 of the Puritan ministers. He had for
 his chaplain a Mr. Wright. Lord
 Rich and his uncle went to Fulham
 to demand that the Bishop should
 license Mr. Wright to preach with-
 out conformity. They came to words,
 and at last to blows. Lord Rich's
 uncle took the Bishop by the collar,
 and gave him a thrashing. The
 Bishop said he was never so abused at
 any man's hands since he was born.

One of Aylmer's daughters was
 married to a clergyman of the name
 of Squire. The Bishop loaded his
 son-in-law with preferments. His pro-
 sperity led him to a dissolute and
 profligate life. To cloak his own
 evil-doing, he feigned a story meant
 to reflect on his wife's fidelity. The
 Bishop found out the real facts,
 and, Martin Marprelate says, 'went
 to buffets with his son-in-law for
 a bloody nose.' The true story
 is, that the Bishop shut himself and
 Dr. Squire into a room in Fulham

CHAP. II.

Aylmer advocated the secularization of Church property.

you.' He had also said, 'Come down, you bis your thousands, and content you with your hun your diet be priest-like and not prince-like.' Th of the 'Harborowe' could not have been agreeable Aylmer. Martin concludes: 'Here, Brother I think you would have spent 3 of the best elms v have cut down in Fulham, and 3 pence half pen that I had never met with your book.' Strype Aylmer wrote against 'the Popish bishops,' and n those of the Reformation. His book was pul Strasburg immediately after the accession of Qu beth. He advocated, as, indeed, all the Refor done, that the immense property in the possessi Church should be applied to civil uses, such as p expenses of the war, supporting the poor, and the of youth.* But when he saw the Queen and the n ing lawless possession of the Church's lands, he c that they should be retained for the use of th 'When I was a child,' he used to say, in referen early zeal in the Reformation, 'I spoke as a child by my faith'——. The Church of England was from the Pope, and, as the Litany expressed it, 'a testable enormities;' but there were other 'enormi which it was not delivered.'†

* The property of the Church, according to William Tyndale, was a third of the whole landed property of the country, and the tenth or tithe of the other two-thirds. The most zealous opponent of *sacrilege* must have seen that it was not for the good of the Commonwealth that so much property should be in the hands of the clergy. It used to be said, that 'if the Abbot of Malmesbury were to marry the Abbess of Shaftesbury, their heir would be richer than the King of England.'

† In the 'Harborowe,' to illustrate an argument, he tells a story which is almost blasphemous:—'This,' he says, 'riseth of wronge understand-

churchwardens aside, 'this geare must be amenc Eli twice in the book. if my Lord of Elie come see it hee will have the bo fore by mine advice we sh out, and put in our owne of Trumpington, Trumpi Sabachthani. They conse did so.' The see of El richer than London, an kept it without a bishop years, that she might hav During these years Aylm applied for it, that he m larger income than he o of London. His failing translation may have

Of Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, we know almost nothing, except from his connection with Martin Marprelate.* Wood bears testimony to the evil reputation of his wife, which is really the only thing that Martin has against him. Cooper wrote an answer to 'The Epistle' and 'The Epitome,' which he called 'An Admonition to the People of England.' It did not bear his name, but only the initials T. C. He begins with a lamentation over 'the loathsome contempt, hatred, and disdain with which the bishops and clergy were generally treated by the public.' He believed the consequences of it would be something like what happened to

CHA
Thom
Cooper

quothe he, 'I may say well enough, Eli. Eli. Lama Sabaethani.'

For the condition of the Church in Elizabeth's reign we have the best possible evidence. Archbishop Sandys says:—'The disease spreadeth, for patrons gape for gain, and hungry fellows, utterly destitute of all good learning and godly zeal, yea, scarcely clothed with common honesty, having money, find ready entrance to the Church.' Bishop Jewel said:—'The masters of the work build benefice upon benefice, and deanery upon deanery, as though Rome were yet in England. The poor flock is given over to the wolf; the poor children cry out for bread, the bread of life, and here is no man to break it unto them. . . . The noblemen or gentlemen, the patrons of benefices, give presentations of benefices either to be farmers themselves or else with exemption of their own tenths, or with some other condition that is worse than this. The poor minister must keep his house, buy his books, relieve the poor, and live God knoweth how, and so do you too.' Jewel continues: 'View your universities, view your schools, which have ever been nurseries to this purpose. Alas! how many shall you find in both the universities, and in all the schools through England, not only that are already able, but also that are minded to the ministry? If they be not found there, alas! where think you to

amongst you. . . . I speak not of the curates, but of the parsonages and vicarages; that is, of the places which are the castles and towers of defence for the Lord's temple. They seldom pass now-a-days from a patron if he be no better than a gentleman but either for the lease or for present money. Such merchants are broken into the Church of God, a great deal more intolerable than were they whom Christ chased and whipped out of the Temple. Young men that are toward and learned see this. They see that he which feedeth the flock hath least part of the milk, he which goeth a warfare hath not half his wages. Therefore they are wearied and discouraged; they change their studies; some become prentices, some turn to physic, some to law; all shun and flee the ministry.'

If the bishops who had conformed deplored the sad state of the Church, what must have been the lamentations of those who, from the beginning, had scrupled about conformity? To vest the government of the Church in the civil ruler, and not in the bishops, had been the doctrine of all the Reformers, whether of those who were for the bishops or of those who were against them.

* He was the author of the Dictionary called 'Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae.' Mr. Maskell, quoting from Dr. Bliss, says, that this

CHAP. II.

Contempt of
the clergy.

Simony.

the Jews when they despised the prophets, and went into captivity, or that the earth would open and swallow the people, as it did Corah, Dathan, and Abiram; they called Aaron 'a proud prelate.' He does not seek perfection for the clergy, yet he asks that they should be as Noah was by Shem and Japheth. He asks, too, that the whole body should not be held responsible for the faults of individuals. He speaks of Martin's tracts as odious and proceeds to defend the bishops from the 'untruths and reproaches cast upon them by Martin.'*

Bishop Cooper maintained that the Church never had many able and godly men in her service as at present, which, after all, is probably true. He even marvelled at the gifts. As for Simony, he laid the blame on the patrons; were, he said, greedy of gain, and were ready to back any disreputable minister who would deal with them. He had said a great deal about the covetousness of the bishops and their providing for their families out of the revenues of the Church. To which Cooper replied that he did not think it right that bishops' wives should be 'laid out' as a clergyman's income ceased at his death, it was necessary that he should make some provision for his family to leave them destitute on the world. Especially was this necessary in these uncertain times, when no man could tell how long he was to hold his living. To the general charge in Martin's book, Cooper answered that in all ages the reputation of the Church had been calumniated by heretics, and it was not remarkable that what had always been should continue to be.

* As to Whitgift, Cooper denied that he had been a poor boy at Peterhouse. It was generous in Cooper to defend Aylmer, for when Aylmer was Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Cooper bishop, the archdeacon gained a lawsuit against the bishop, which arose out of a difference about the extent of their respective jurisdictions. As to the elms, it was urged that the Queen had for a time made Fulham Palace

had they made good their bargain. The grocer's bill is affirmed to be paid, the Sunday bowling green on the lawn is defended, and for the case of Paddington, it is maintained that when he held the porter's lodge at the gate of the palace, he was a good man, well-read in the Scriptures, and that he faithfully fulfilled his duty to his parish for eight or ten years till his sight failed him.

The Bishop of Winchester's 'Admonition' did not lessen the zeal of Martin. He appeared almost immediately after its publication with another tract, which was called 'Hay any worke for Cooper?*' This was preceded by an 'Epistle to the terrible Priests,' which begins: 'A man of Worshipp to the men of Worshipp, that is, Martin Marprelate, gentleman, Primate and Metropolitane of all the Martins wheresoever. To the John of all the Sir Johns, and the rest of the terrible priests, saith haue among you once again my cleargie masters. O Brethren! there is such a deal of love growne of late, I perceiue, between you and me, that although I would be negligent in sending my Pistles unto you, yet I see you cannot forget me. I thought you to be very kind when you sent your Perceivants about the countrie to seeke for me. But now that you yourselve have taken the paines to write it is out of all crie. Why, it passes to think what louing and careful brethren I have, who, although I cannot be gotten to tell them where I am, because I loue not the ayre of the Clinke or Gatehouse in the cold time of winter, and by reason of our business in Pistle making, will notwithstanding make it known vnto the world that they have a moneths mind towards me.' Martin relates some ludicrous things which a neighbouring priest is said to have uttered when he heard the Morrice-dancers, and, suddenly finishing his sermon with 'John of London's amen,' rushed out to join his companions in the dance. He boasts that the Bishop had not confuted, but rather confirmed what he had written, so that now Martin was known to be 'truepenie' indeed. He repeats his former stories concerning John of Fulham, and he asks Bishop Cooper to deny, if he dare, that the Bishop of St. David's had two wives.†

* 4. 'Hay any worke for Cooper? or a brieft Pistle directed by Waye of an hublication to the reuerende By-shoppes, counselling them, if they will needs be barrell'd vp, for feare of smelling in the nostrels of her Maies-tie and the State, that they would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin, for the providing of their Cooper. Because

vnskilfull and a beceytfull tubtrimmer. —Wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man I warrant you, in the modest defence of his selfe and his learned Pistles and makes the Coopers hoopes to flye off, and the Bishops Tubs to leake out of all erve. Penned and compiled by Martin the Metropolitane. Printed in Europe, not farre from some

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'Hay
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CHAP. II.

Martin's
arguments
religious
curiosities.

Martin's arguments for the tetrarchy of doctors, elders, and deacons, as of divine institution, are

He was an illiterate man, without school or university learning, and was ultimately deprived for his evil life. The 'Admonition' had only the initials T. C., which left Martin room for speculation as to the authorship. It might be 'Tom Coakes or it might be Thomas Cooper.' He concluded that it must be the work of 'Mistress Cooper's husband.' 'The style and phrase,' he says, 'is very like her husband's, that was sometimes wont to write unto Dr. Day of Welles.'

The bishops had a formidable enemy in the person of Mistress Lawson, who is frequently mentioned in Martin's tracts. Cooper had spoken of some of her doings with disapprobation, to which Martin answered, 'Concerning Mistress Lawson, profane T. C., is it not lawful for her to go to Lambeth by water, to accompanie a preacher's wife going also (as commonly godly matrons in London do) with her man? "No," saith T. C., "I do not like this in women." Tushe, man, Thomas Lawson is not Thomas Cooper, he has no such cause to doubt of Dame Lawson's going without her husband, as the Bishop of Winchester had of Dame Cooper's gadding.'

Martin says they are shameless who deny what all the world knows, that John Whitgift was 'a poore schollere' at Peterhouse, under Dr. Perne, and that he carried Perne's clothes-bag. He often confessed that he was unable to buy a dinner-napkin, the want of which led to sad consequences. The point at which Martin aims, is not Whitgift's poverty, but his connection with Dr. Perne. This Perne was the man who had caused Bucer's bones to be dug up and burned, and for which he has obtained an undesirable immortality in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs.' He had shown kindness to Whitgift in his youth, and Whitgift rewarded him in his old age with a friendly home in the Palace of Lambeth.

makes Perne to be remembered as much as his burning Bucer. One rainy day Elizabeth was determined to ride, and though not in she could not be easily deterred from her purpose. The day who happened to be at Lambeth, he pleaded to. He used his arguments to persuade the Queen to go abroad that day. When spoken, Clod, the Queen's favourite, claimed, 'Madam, heaven forbid you not only by its weathers but by the eloquence of the bishop; earth dissuades the poor fool Clod; and if not, nor earth can succeed, as to Dr. Perne, whose religion suspend him between both.'

John Bullingham, Bishop of Exeter, seems to have been a spirit to Dr. Perne; Martin says 'an old steale counter.' 'It is no shame,' he says, 'Bishop, if a man could, to be as unlearned as John of William of Litchfield. And our brother of Winchester may play twentie noble Premiero on the cards, as well with any pulpit lawyer, thinks himself a sufficient insinuated that Bishop was not always sober, Grauat of Sir John Pulton, is described as one of John's bousing mates.'

Westfaling, Bishop of William Overton of Lichfield, William Wickham of three of the five bishops, the five daughters of Bishop. Another of the five was Day of Winchester, and married to Toby Matt, bishop of York, having previously the wife of Martin son of the Archbishop of The epitaph on the mother of episcopal ladies is worth 'Hic Agathæ Tumulus'

way, religious curiosities. The Church, he says, is the body of Christ, its officers are members of the body, and when these are wanting, the body is maimed. Bishops are unlawful, because not prescribed in the New Testament as part of the body. The civil ruler cannot make members for the body different from those that already belong to it. If the bishops are created by the State, and if their office may be abolished by the State, then it is no lawful office, for no magistrate can abolish out of the Church any lawful office. In the 'Hay any worke,' Martin says, 'Do you think, T. C., that the Maiestrat may make an eie for the visible body of the Church? . . . Would you have the natural eies put out—and unnatural squint gogled eies put in their stead? . . . Whereas the keeping out of eyther of the former offices of pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, is a maiming of the Church, the placing of other in their stead a deforming. Now, . . . reverend Martin hath sufficiently proued it to be unlawful for the civil magistrate to abolish any lawfull church officer out of the Church. . . . Every Christian magistrate is bound to receive the government by pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, into the Church within his dominions, whatsoever inconvenience may be likely to follow the receiving of it.' Martin goes on to say, that the Queen and State are in great danger from Almighty God for deforming His Church. After which he calls T. C. 'a sodden headed asse' and a 'bishop of the Diuell.'

In the 'Epitome' there are passages which might suit a modern Sacerdotalist without a word of alteration. 'The sacrifices,' says Martin, 'of the old lawe after the building of the temple, were to be offered only in Jerusalem by a Levite of the line of Aaron only, vnlesse a prophet extraordinary ordained it otherwise, as Elias did. And the said sacrifices were to be consumed and burned only by a fire proceeding from the Lord. Briefly, none were to meddle with the tabernacle or anything belonging to the service of God but the sonnes of Levi, whome the Lord appointed for His oune service. So that if anye sacrifice

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CHAP. II. Lord, then an horrible breach of God's ordinance committed and punished very memorably by the Lord Corah, Dathan, Abiram, and fiftee captaines of the gation, who, not being of the sonnes of Aaron, were offered incense before the Lord.' After this passage an account of the Presbyterian government, which is introduced with the words, 'In this way Jesus Christ.' Penry really maintained that the doctors, pastors, elders, and deacons, were as literally appointed to their office by the command of God, as the Jewish priests to the Levitical priesthood, and that departure from the New Testament order, that is the Geneva discipline, would be visited with such punishments as befell Uzza, Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. These arguments once did good service to Presbyterianism. When worn out, they were laid aside for the strange transformations of religious thought, which have been taken up by others, who little know that they are wearing the cast-off clothes of Thomas Cartwright, John Penry, and Martin Marprelate.

John Penry. The next in order of the Marprelate tracts is 'The Appellation of John Penry,'* etc. The seventeenth tract is by John Penry. It is a treatise on Reformation.† The reason for including Penry's tracts in the Marprelate collection is the supposition that Penry was the real Martin Marprelate. He was imprisoned on the charge of being the author of 'Hay any worke for Cooper?' but was released after a short confinement, there being no evidence against him. Some time after, a warrant was again issued for his apprehension when he fled to Scotland. After four years he returned to London, intending to plead with the Queen for the reformation of Church abuses. He was immediately apprehended on a charge of sedition, and soon after perished on the

* 5. 'Th' Appellation of John Penry, unto the Highe court of Parliament, from the bad and injurious dealing of th' Archb. of Canterb. & other his colleagues of the high commission: cution, or just tryall.'

† 17. 'A treatise where festlie proved, that reformation those that sincerely fauour are vnjustly charged to

fold. The persistency with which the Marprelate tracts have been ascribed to Penry, is a notable instance of the recklessness with which men write history when they have a party to serve. The great object of John Penry's life was to provide preaching ministers for his native country. He did not think the Church as established in Wales was suited to accomplish the work that had to be done there. He wanted to dispense with bishops, as plants 'which the right hand of the Lord had not planted.' He pleaded that men who could preach in Welsh should be sent among the people. He called upon the State to make proper provision for the instruction of the Welsh population, which he said was the duty of the civil magistrate, who was to provide, not bishops and non-preaching ministers, but a 'government according to God's own laws.' The evils which vexed the souls of righteous men in England, were tenfold in Wales. The population were sunk in superstition and ignorance, unable to understand English, and yet the remedy was English bishops and ministers, who could not preach in Welsh and were not concerned to teach the people English. 'Non-residences,' says Penry, 'have cut the throat of our church. Some that never preached have three Church livings. Many of our livings are possessed by students of either of the Universities, who never come amongst us, unless it be to fleece.' There is nothing in Penry's character or in his writings that gives any countenance to the conjecture that he was Martin Marprelate.

Out of the Penry controversy arose another of the Marprelate tracts. This was called, 'M. Some laid open in his coulers; wherein the indifferent Reader may easily see how wretchedly and loosely he hath handled the cause against M. Penri. Done by an Oxford man to his friend in Cambridge.' Both Universities were strongholds of Puritanism; but of the two, Oxford, up till this time, was the stronger. This was due to the influence of Sampson and Humphreys. 'M. Some laid open in his coulers' was as ordinary a tract as could have been written. It was a reply to

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CHAP. II. ministry, the Papists and the Anabaptists. — latter name, he evidently included the Brownists extreme Presbyterians represented by Martin Luther. These denied that the Episcopal Church was a true Church. Cartwright, however, did not maintain this, when he urged Robert Brown to censure him for continuing in the Church of England. But Some writes against those who say that the Church of England is no true Church. He likens them to the Donatists, who had been refuted by Augustine and Chrysostom. He says that a godly prince may and ought to compel his subjects to the external service of God. For the example of Jehoshaphat and Artaxerxes. Asa and Josiah of Judah to seek the Lord God of their fathers. Josiah compelled his subjects to seek the Lord their God. As the first said that heretics should be reasoned with, but from experience with that kind of people, he found that it was for the civil magistrate to compel them to follow the Catholic faith. Men are invited in the gospel to follow Christ, a great householder, and if they will not come of their own accord, we have a command to compel them. The Conformists and Puritans, both Presbyterians and Episcopalians, were disciples of Augustine, but as they did not agree as to what is the right faith, they were not to what faith the civil ruler should compel his subjects to adopt. Whitgift said that the Papists should be compelled both to hear the word and to receive the sacraments. Cartwright said they should only be compelled to hear the word, and if that did not convert them, then they should be punished. John Penry and Martin Marprelate said, it was the duty of the civil ruler to establish discipline according to the word of God, and not government by bishops. Cartwright said that the godly prince should allow none but the true religion, and therefore neither Penry's religion nor Marprelate's should be allowed. Nebuchadnezzar made a decree that all peoples, nations, and languages should worship the golden image, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Constantine made a law that all should worship the Christian God.

Heretics to be
compelled to
receive the
Catholic faith.

sented, 'his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping and sobbing.' The teachers of religion should be maintained, for Nehemiah showed kindness to the house of the Lord. Some wanted to vindicate Elizabeth and her government of the Church, but unwittingly he asks, 'Where then is their kindness, who sell Church livings as Judas did Christ,' and he adds, 'The abominable sale and merchandise of Church livings is cried out against in Court, city, and university; *propter abundantiam*, as one said of late, *non potest, et propter impudentiam non vult celari*, that is, the polling and sale of church livings is so common, that it cannot, and so shameless that it will not, be hid.' Then came the question, if what had been dedicated to the maintenance of idolatry in 'Popish times' should now be converted to the service of God, which Some said ought to be, as Eleazar the priest took the brazen censers which they that were burnt had offered, and made broad plates of them for a covering of the altar. Gideon also offered unto the Lord a bullock that had been fed for Baal's service. The baptism of Roman Catholic priests was true baptism, for though they have not a lawful calling, yet they have a calling. He maintained, too, that sacraments administered by ministers who did not preach were valid sacraments, which Penry had denied, and they were not affected either by the ignorance or the evil life of the minister. God's ordinances are the same whatever be the character of the minister. To affirm the contrary is, said Some, the error of the Donatists.

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Martin's next piece after 'Hay any worke,' was 'A Dialogue,' etc. The speakers are *Puritane*, *Papiste*, *Jacke of both sides*, and *Idoll minister*. Bishop Aylmer comes in for his usual share, but Martin has nothing more to say against him than has already been said. 'Master Vicker,' says Puritane to Idoll Minister, 'will you swear? I think you learned that of your Lord Bishop of London, for he useth it when he is at bowles.' The vicar is called a 'Vicker of the Diuell,' and Whitgift 'Beelzebub of Canterburye, the cheefe of the diuels.' Archbishop Parker, in dealing severely with the

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CHAP. II. his office. Whitgift was dutiful to the Queen, but his own judgment went in enforcing conformity on the Puritans we do not know. Martin declares that Whitgift himself was the persecutor. 'Of all the bishops,' he said, 'who ever were in that place, I meane in the see of Canterbury, none did neuer so much hurt vnto the Church of England as hath done since his coming.'*

Richard Bancroft.

In February, 1588, Richard Bancroft, chaplain to the bishop Whitgift, preached against the Puritans, called them, the Martinists, at St. Paul's Cross. He felt even by Hooker that the Puritans had an advantage with the popular mind in the very claim that their discipline was prescribed in the New Testament. He felt that he could have made the same claim for Episcopacy, but he could not do it sincerely, and he scorned to do so for the sake of victory. Bancroft had not Hooker's

Proclaims the divine right of Episcopacy.

He proclaimed the divine right of government by the bishops. The Conformists were amazed at the novelty of his doctrine. The Puritans were confounded with the boldness of the claim. Whitgift said he did not believe the doctrine to be true, but he wished that it were. The text of Bancroft's sermon was, 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, for many false spirits that had gone out into the world were deceiving you, such as the Arians, Donatists, Papists, and Anabaptists. Outwardly their deportment was humble and lowly,

Four marks of heretics.

inwardly they were full of contention. Heretics and schismatics have always had the same marks by which they may be distinguished from those of the true faith. The first of these marks is contempt of bishops. St. Jerome said that the bishops were placed in the Church that the seeds of heresy might be taken away. It is no marvel, then, that the late bishops were hated. But for their authority, there would have been many schisms in the Church as there are priests. The chief mark of heretics is the desire of pre-eminence. Whitgift vetoed a bishopric, though he said that there was no difference between bishops and presbyters; 'an assertion,' said

As Pygmalion worshipped his own workmanship, so did they worship their own opinions. The fourth mark of heretics is covetousness. Those who are not heretics or schismatics follow the guidance of the Church, which is directed in her chief officers, especially when assembled in council, by the Spirit of God. Bancroft does not say that the Church is infallible, but he transfers to the visible Church the marks which the Reformers ascribed only to the invisible.*

Besides this sermon at St. Paul's Cross, we have two other tracts written by Bancroft. The one is called 'Dangerous Positions.' It consists chiefly of extracts from the writings of Knox and Goodman, to show the inherent spirit of rebellion which is natural to Presbyterians. Jewel, Horne, and other bishops that had been in exile for the Reformation, commended the work of Knox in Scotland, but Bancroft saw in it nothing but rebellion against their rulers, and destruction of sacred places.† The other tract was, 'A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline.' When the Bishop of Geneva was banished, Calvin thought it best to put the government of the parishes under the Consistory, which consisted of twelve senators and six ministers. This was a temporary arrangement to suit the circumstances in which they were suddenly placed. Out of this union of senators and ministers grew the doctrine of elders, who were to rule, but not to teach. What at first was a temporary arrangement at Geneva, became at length in England a scheme of government claiming divine authority. Bancroft was at war with the 'Discipline,' not only because it opposed bishops, but because it denied the authority of princes which had been established by the Reformers. So far it was against the Reformation, and, like the Church of Rome, the enemy of national churches.

Bancroft proclaimed the divine right of Episcopacy, but

Original
Presbyterianism.

* Two years later, 1590, Saravia advocated the divine origin of bishops in 'De diversis Ministrorum Evangelii

the parish churches in England. This was first stopped by Bishop Aylmer, not on the plea of want of proper or-

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Royal supremacy incompatible with ecclesiastical independence.

he did not renounce the divine right of the civil ruler. The theory of bishops was an invention to meet an emergency, but there was no emergency to call for a renunciation of the divine authority of the Sovereign. At the Reformation all the Reformers were agreed as to the right of the Sovereign to make laws for the Church, and to settle its polity. The Puritans first learned that practically it was impossible to combine the regal supremacy with a free church. In England the Queen was opposed to them as rebels against her government. They never abandoned the theory that she was the nursing mother, but they supposed that it was to learn from them what principles she was to follow, and how she was to nurse them. In Scotland the Sovereign and the Sovereign were in collision from the beginning of the Reformation. To resist the Sovereign was the necessity implied in the very act of Reformation. Bancroft, in his 'Dangerous Positions,' quoted passages out of the Statute where it was declared to be the duty of the nobles and commons to seek the reformation of religion even against the King was opposed to it; and that if kings were tyrants, then subjects were free from the oath of allegiance. Bancroft commended the Scotch king for taking to himself the lawful authority in ecclesiastical causes. He had no right to change the Church government that had been established in Scotland, on the principle that it was the duty of a king to establish the true Church in his kingdom.

Bancroft's writings have nothing more than a historical interest. He was a noisy polemic, with no remarkable attainments either in learning or intellect. It is a curious and holy memorial of the times, that such a man should have risen to the primacy. The bishopric of London was given to him because of his zeal in the Marprelate controversy. His only title to the Archbishopric was his capacity to oppose the Puritans.

Thomas Bilson.

About three years after Bancroft's sermon at St. Dunstons Cross, Thomas Bilson, Warden of Winchester College,

right of Episcopacy. Its object was on the one hand to refute the claim of the Puritans to be the lineal descendants of the Jewish Church, and on the other hand to establish this claim for Episcopacy. The Catholic Church, from Adam to Moses, and from Moses to Christ, was governed, he says, by 'an inequality and superiority of pastors and teachers.' In the Patriarchal Church the Patriarchs were the divinely appointed rulers. Adam governed the Church nine hundred years, and Seth five hundred. The father governed the family, and the first-born was ruler over his brethren. The government of the household was transferred to the Church, which was the household of the saints. Under the dispensation of Moses there were priests above Levites, and priests above priests, and some Levites above other Levites. Bilson distinctly renounced the doctrine which had prevailed in the Church of England since the Reformation, that we are to establish in the Church that form of government which is most convenient for the time and country in which we live. 'We must rather,' he says, 'observe what kind of external government the Lord established in His Church.' The Puritans said that without their discipline the body of Christ was maimed, and that bishops were 'gogled eyes' put in the place where the natural eyes had been thrust out. Now Bilson turns on the Puritans, and maintains that bishops are the natural eyes of the Church, 'primitive members for the guiding and directing the whole body, which without them is maimed and unable to provide for the safety and security of itself.' He professed, however, to be afraid to claim for the bishops all that the Puritans claimed for their discipline. Their exaltation of the power of the presbyteries seemed to be conferring on Church rulers that sceptre which belonged only to Christ. To avoid this, he tells us that he is careful to distinguish between the visible Church and the kingdom of God. The visible Church was not the kingdom of God. This consisted only of the true members of the mystical body of Christ, which is the Church invisible. This distinction tells us that Bilson did

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The twelve
Apostles and
the seventy
disciples.

right of Presbytery. In either case the Church confessed to be Christ's vicars. The Church visible is of which Christ was the Head, and was therefore nunguishable from the kingdom of God. The Puritan for the eldership a descent from the Jewish Sanhedrim. Bilson answered that that was a judicial part of the law, and, like the ceremonies and the priesthood, abolished by the death of Christ. The Puritans said *the Church* was Tell the Sanhedrim. To the Christ was the eldership, to the Jew it was the magistr pointed in every city. As the members of the Sanhedrim had the government called the power of the keys, the eldership or Christian Sanhedrim had the same keys, and to bind and to loose in the government of the Church. In answer to this was, that the Sanhedrim were civil magistrates, with the power of life and death, and that to give this to the eldership would be to interfere with the civil magistracy. Bilson's arguments for Episcopacy are those which we are now familiar. 'Philip,' he says, 'baptized and preached, but he could not confer on believers the Holy Ghost.' That was reserved for an apostle. Christ laid his hands on the disciples at Ephesus, and straightway they spoke with tongues and prophesied. Christ established an inequality of ministers when he sent out the twelve apostles and seventy disciples. St. Jerome found a proclamation of this distinction in the twelve palm-trees and seventy palm-trees at Elim. The Apostles had authority. They were as infallible in their doctrines when they spoke as they now are in their writings. Their decisions were binding on the Church. They were not guided by the number of voices in the congregation, or by the majority in the presbytery. St. Paul said peremptorily that what he preached was to be believed, and every doctrine opposed to it was to be refused, even if preached by an angel from heaven. The power of the keys was first settled by the Apostles. They did not derive it from the Church.

priest, but Bilson says that 'princes cannot authorize pastors to preach the word or to administer the sacraments. The King of Heaven has appointed messengers of His word and stewards of His mysteries.' It is their business also to redress disorders in the Church, to remove abuses, and to displace them that do evil. But, he adds, in a Christian State the officers of the Church are not to do these things without the consent and assistance of the civil magistrate.

The public life of Whitgift consisted of two great battles, one against the discipline of Calvin, and another for the doctrine of Calvin. The Puritans and the Conformists differed mainly about discipline. They were both satisfied with the doctrines of the XXXIX. Articles. Our Reformers, like Luther, Calvin, and Melancthon, were Augustinians. They expressed themselves differently on predestination; that is to say, instead of pressing it to its logical consequences, as Calvin did, they simply stated the doctrine itself. They spoke of a predestination of some men to eternal life. Of the others, who were not predestinated, they said nothing. That Calvinism, or at least the Augustinianism of Calvin, really differed from the Augustinianism of the Church of England, was never disputed. For this we have the unbroken testimony of the Church for seventy years after the Reformation. In Strype's 'Ecclesiastical Memorials' mention is made of free-willers being in the prisons in 1554. They are described as men who held free-will, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and who had refused the doctrine of absolute predestination and original sin. They are only mentioned to be condemned. Ridley and Bradford wrote treatises on election and predestination to refute them. Philpot, the martyr, told his Roman Catholic examiners that the doctrine of Calvin on predestination was the doctrine of the Fathers of the Church, and that it agreed with the Scriptures. Election and reprobation, in the most strict sense of Calvin, are distinctly taught in the notes and preface of the Bishops' Bible, which was published by the sanction of Elizabeth's first bishops. The

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on the XXXIX. Articles was that of Thomas Rogers refuted the Papists, and the Family of Love, defending the divine right of Episcopacy, and the doctrines of Art. XVII. is explained in these propositions :—that a predestination of men unto eternal life ; that predestination has been everlasting ; that they which are predestinated unto salvation cannot perish ; that not all men, but some men, are predestinated to be saved ; that in Christ of the mere will and purpose of God, some are elected unto salvation, and not others ; that they who are elected unto salvation, if they come to years of discretion, are called outwardly by the word, and inwardly by the Spirit of God ; that the predestinate are both justified by faith, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and shall be glorified in the life to come. The texts which Rogers quotes, and his manner of explaining them, show a determined opposition to the belief of predestination merely conditional. He claims the ancient Catholic and Orthodox Church for his doctrine, saying it was condemned only by Carpocratians, Valentinians, Cerinthians, Manichees, Hieracites, and the Family of Love.

Peter Baro.

Strype gives some account of one Thomas Talbot of Mary Magdalene Street, who, about the year 1595, fell into great trouble from teaching that God did not permit predestinate evil, but that He only foreknew it. But it was in 1595 that any one in a high position in the Church of England ventured to contradict the doctrine of Calvin concerning the decrees. It was first done by Peter Baro, a Dutchman, a professor at Cambridge, who, in a Latin sermon addressed to the Clergy, maintained these four propositions :—

- (1.) God created all and every individual, with a view to save him.
- (2.) The will of God is twofold, antecedent and consequent. God reprobates no man by His will of antecedence.
- (3.) Christ died for all and every individual of the human race.
- (4.) God's promises respecting eternal life are un-

In the same year William Barrett, a Fellow of Caius College, preached against predestination, and was forced to read a retraction in St. Mary's.* He was afterwards sent to Lambeth, where he was examined and admonished by the Archbishop. This assault upon the received doctrines of the Church, at a public university, was of so grave a character that the Archbishop immediately assembled a Conference at Lambeth, consisting of the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Bangor, Tindal, the Dean of Ely, Dr. Whitaker, the Queen's Divinity Professor, and other learned men from Cambridge, who framed the Articles in opposition to Barrett's teaching, which are known as the Articles of Lambeth. They consist of these nine propositions:—

(1.) God hath from eternity predestinated certain persons to life, and hath reprobated certain persons unto death.

(2.) The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not the foresight of faith or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything that is in the persons predestinated, but the alone will of God's good pleasure.

(3.) The predestinate are a predetermined and certain number, which can neither be lessened nor increased.

* We have no knowledge of Barrett's doctrines, except from the Retraction which he was compelled to read, where it is put down in these propositions:—

(1.) That no man in this transitory life is so strongly underpropped, at least, by the certainty of faith, that is to say (as afterwards he explained it himself), by revelation, that he ought to be assured of his own salvation.

(2.) That the faith of Peter could not fail, but that the faith of other men might fail, our Lord not praying for the faith of any particular man.

(3.) That the certainty of perseverance for the time to come is a presumptuous and proud security, forasmuch as it is in its own nature contingent, and that it was not only a presumptuous, but a wicked doctrine.

(4.) There was no distinction in the

true believer either can or ought believe for certain that his sins are forgiven him.

(6.) That he maintained against Calvin, Peter Martyr, and the rest, (concerning those that are not saved), that sin is the true, proper, and first cause of reprobation.

(7.) That he had taxed Calvin for lifting up himself above the high and Almighty God; and

(8.) That he had uttered many bitter words against Peter Martyr, Jerome Zanchius, and Francis Junius, calling them by the odious name of Calvinists, and branding them with a most grievous mark of reproach, they being the lights and ornaments of our Church, as is suggested in the Articles that were exhibited against him.

As the recantation is not found among the registers of the University

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(4.) Such as are not predestinated to salvation, inevitably be condemned on account of their sins.

(5.) The true, lively, and justifying faith, and the love of God justifying, is not extinguished, doth not utterly doth not vanish away in the elect, either finally or temporarily.

(6.) A true believer, that is, one endued with justifying faith, is certified, by the full assurance of faith that his sins are forgiven, and that he shall be everlastingly saved by Christ.

(7.) Saving grace is not allowed, is not imparted, is not granted to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

(8.) No man is able to come to Christ unless it be the will of the Father, and unless the Father draw him, and all men are drawn by the Father that they may come to His Son.

(9.) It is not in the will and power of every man to be saved.

Whitgift said that these Articles were agreeable to the XXXIX., established by authority. They were agreed by the Archbishop of York, Dr. Hutton, who was unable to attend the Conference, but who added, 'These principles may be collected from the Holy Scriptures, either expressly or by necessary consequence, and also from the writings of St. Augustine.'

Lord Bacon.

Amidst these Elizabethan strifes Lord Bacon was the foundation of the philosophy of experience, but he was not an indifferent spectator of what was going on in the religious world. He stood on the platform on which the reformed Church of England was established, that the new policy is not opposed to the Scriptures, but that the Scriptures do not prescribe for the Church any perpetual changeable polity. He refused to condemn the Roman Churches that had adopted Presbyterian government, but he blamed the Puritans for trying to thrust their doctrine on the Church of England. It was not better than the old policy, but, even if it had been, there were reasons

Blames the
Puritans.

origin of atheism, curious controversies and profane scoffing. CH He praised Bishop Cooper for answering Martin not according to his folly, and he hoped the clergy had nothing to do with the interlibelling. When the controversy was with the Romanists, and such questions as the adoration of the sacrament were discussed, the issue, Bacon said, was important, but now the question is about ceremonies and government, which are indifferent. The unity of the Church should not depend on these, but on the *one faith* and the *one baptism*. We should distinguish between the things of religion which belong to eternity, and those which merely belong to time. We should distinguish between essentials and things non-essential. When the Apostles differed about subordinate matters, they did not lay down positions and assertions. They gave their counsel and advice. They said, 'I, not the Lord;' but now every one is crying, 'The Lord, and not I.'

But while Bacon approved of Episcopacy, and blamed what he thought blamable in the Puritans, he was not blind to the manifold evils for which the Church was responsible, nor did he think that the Episcopal treatment of the Puritans was capable of any defence. He spoke with astonishment of 'some indiscreet persons who have been so bold in open preaching to use derogatory and open censure of the Churches abroad, and that so far as some of our men, as I have heard, ordained in foreign parts, have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers.' He blamed the bishops for their stiffness in refusing to alter anything, and he asks why the ecclesiastical state should continue upon the dregs of time, when the civil state is purged continually as disorders arise. He told the bishops that their wrongs against the Puritans could not be dissembled nor excused. They had been too ready to hear accusations against ministers, often from those who had quarrelled with them, only for being reproved on account of their evil lives. The Puritans were usually classed with the Family of Love, and represented as refusing tribute and as withholding obedience from the civil

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CHAP. II.

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Bacon's
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over the rest of the clergy. He did not think it them to give orders, to excommunicate and to go Church by their own authority. They ought to Presbytery always associated with them, so that the ment might not be merely that of an individual. He also that the word 'priest' might be laid aside. He knew that it was only an abbreviation of the word presbyter, yet, as we have no word to designate the successor of the priest of the old law, for the sake of avoiding confusion should use the word minister or presbyter, as used in the gospel dispensation we have no priest in the same sense. He thought that we had put Confirmation in place, in connecting it with Baptism. In the primitive church it was a preparation for the first communion. He would not lay baptism, because the rite was not of such importance that any person might perform it lest the child died. In the early church Baptism was celebrated yearly. The minister did not hasten to baptize sick nor did the laymen think of doing it if the minister was at hand. As a means of training up good preachers he recommended the restoration of the Puritan custom of phesying.'

His theological
writings.

It is interesting to know what Lord Bacon thought of the controversies which divided the Conformists and the Puritans, but what we may call his theological writings have more interest than even this. Did the author of the *Inductus* philosophy say anything new in theology? Did his philosophy affect his theology? Did he lay down any rules for the guidance of the theologian as he did for the philosopher? It is impossible that in any new method of studying the sciences God theology could be untouched. But the first thing remarkable in Bacon is his desire to progress in philosophy but to be conservative in theology. He is orthodox like most philosophers. He described the character of a 'believing Christian' by a number of paradoxes, in which Christian faith seemed such a series of contradictions.

these : a Christian is one who believes against reason, believes that a Father is not older than His Son, and that the God of all grace was angry with one who never offended.* Bacon says that for philosophy we must go to God's works, but for divinity we must go to His word. The heavens declare God's glory, but the Scriptures reveal His will. In nature we only see second causes, but in the Scripture we come to the head of the fountain. It is unsafe to seek articles of belief in the works of nature. We must give to faith the things that belong to faith. It is here, he says, that we find the reason why so many great men are heretics. They seek to fly up to the secrets of the Deity on the waxen wings of sense. It was once said by one of Philo's school that the sense of man resembles the sun. It reveals the terrestrial globe, but it obscures the stars and the celestial world. So sense discovers things natural, but it darkens and shuts up things divine. Human knowledge is likened to the waters, some descending from above and some springing from beneath. The one is from the light of nature, the other by divine revelation. By that which springs from beneath we have enough 'to convince atheism, but not to inform religion.' And so God never wrought a miracle to convince atheists, but miracles have been wrought to convince the idolatrous and the superstitious.

It is often said that Bacon refused to admit the Theistic argument drawn from final causes. It is true that he has spoken of the search for final causes as prejudicial to the true investigation of nature. But he is not speaking of religion. His complaint is that many—for instance, Plato, Aristotle, and Galen—often seek for the final cause, and this being found, they are blinded as to the physical. But the investigation of nature has to do with the physical. When the natural philosopher proceeds to the final, he becomes a theologian. That the hairs of the eyelids are a quickset to defend the sight may be true, but the question for the physical inquirer is to find what is the cause of hairs growing over the eyelids. The answer is that 'pilosity is incident to

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orifices of moisture.' To seek the physical cause is to deny the final cause. Nor is it to call in question the wisdom, but rather to exalt it: as he is the greater power who can make men the instruments of his will, and yet acquaint them with his own purpose, so is the Divinity magnified in using the result of the physical to execute the final.

Faith and
reason.

The distinction which Bacon made between the works of God implied another distinction, which has its counterpart,—that between faith and reason. What is revealed in His word is to be implicitly believed, however it may contradict our reason. To assent to the matter because it is agreeable to reason is no more than what we do when the witness was discredited or his testimony doubtful. We are to give our consent to the author, whether it may be the agreement or disagreement of our reason with what is revealed. This is true faith. This is the faith of Abraham, which was accounted for righteousness because he believed when Sarah laughed. Abraham was the picture of faith, Sarah was the image of natural reason. We are bound to the law and the testimony, not only to learn the truths and mysteries of creation and redemption, but even the duties of the moral law. Bacon felt at this point that an objection might be raised from the sense of the moral law which we have by nature. He anticipates it by answering that in the sense the light of nature means an inward instinct, and that the law of conscience is a sparkle of the purity of our estate. But this is sufficient only to check vice, not to teach duty. The use of reason in religion is limited to two things. The one gives us an apprehension of the mysteries revealed. The other derives doctrines and directions from what is revealed. In the one case reason does not teach the mysteries by way of argument, but by way of illustration. In the other, reason has but a secondary, not an absolute use. We are not permitted to reason on what is revealed, but are exempted from examination, but when received, we

Revelation to
be received,
not examined.

revealed religion are the *placets* of God, on which the secondary reason may be exercised. Bacon said that the principles of nature were examinable by induction, but it was not the same with those of revelation. There God speaks. It has been observed, he said, of Jesus, that when questions were propounded to Him, He answered rather according to the thoughts than the words of those who put the questions. So it is with the Scriptures, which, being written for all ages, are infinite springs and streams of doctrine, intended to water the Church not only when they were written, but in all ages. The literal sense is the main stream, but the moral chiefly, and sometimes the allegorical or typical, is that which the Church uses most. The Bible is not therefore to be interpreted as we would interpret any other book.

In Bacon's 'Confession of Faith,' he seems to express a belief that a Mediator was always necessary, as neither man nor angel could stand for a moment in God's sight. Therefore the Lamb was not only slain to redeem men from the Fall, but He was slain before all worlds. It is not surprising that Bacon believed in election. The doctrines of Calvin were as yet the orthodox faith of the Church of England. Among the generations of men, he says, God elected a small flock in whom, by the participation of Himself, He proposed to express the rays of His glory. For this end the angels are ministering servants. Devils and reprobates are condemned that God may be glorified in His chosen saints. The Catholic Church is described as consisting of holy persons throughout all ages and dispensations. It is the spouse of Christ. It is Christ's body, and is not to be confounded with the Church visible. In nature God works by law, but redemption is a miracle, and to it all miracles refer. The explanation of original sin is that the fall of Adam resulted from knowledge,—not the natural knowledge of creatures, but the knowledge of good and evil. Man did not believe that right and wrong had their beginnings by God's positive laws. He expected to find other beginnings. He believed that God did not make right, but that it was an eternal

APPENDIX TO CHAP. II.

'Hay any
More Worke
for a Cooper.'

Martin Marprelate's printing-press was taken at M while printing a tract called 'Hay any more worke for a There is, it is supposed, no copy of this tract extant. Soon seizure of the press Martin appeared again with a paper 'The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat.* It opens thus: 'Canst not lightly bee ignorant, good reader, of that v lately fallen vnto some things of mine, which were to be or in printing; the presse, leteres, workman and all app and carried as malefactors before the magistrate, who ritie I reverence, and whose sword I would fear were I as our Bb. are.' Martin proceeds to say that he is dismayed at what has befallen him:—'Good reader, I w have thee discouraged at this that is latlie fallen out. present action let them be well assured it was not unde be intermitted at every blaste of euill successe. Nay, knowe by the grace of God the last day of *Martinisme* the discrying and displaying of L. Bb. shall not be t years after the last year of *Lambethisme*. Be it kno them that *Martinisme* stands vpon an other manner o tion than this prelacy doth or can stand. Therefore yf needs overthrowe me, let them goe in hand with the (exploit?) rather in proving the lawfullness of their p by exercising the force of their vnlawfull tyranny.' 'The testation' gives an account of what Martin had said in 'any more worke':—'To tell the truth, good reader, remember the loss of it, it was so prettie and so witty there was set down the true, proper, natural definition description of *Martinisme* to this effect. That to be a rig niste indeede, is to be neither Brownist, Cooperist, La Schismatike, Papist, Atheist, traytor, nor yet L. byshop that as at defyaunce with all men, so far forth as he is

* '8. The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat wherein notwithstanding the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known vnto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, Anti-

against them and theirs—V leng if they dare not maint him: then doth he alsoe p he never meaneth, by the god to leaue the assaylin

to God and her maiestie. Whereupon I remember, I did then aske the reader whether it were not good being a Martiniste. Nexte to this followed a pre-amble to an Eblitaph upon the death of olde Andrewe Turne-Coate, to be sung antephonically in his grace's chappell on Wednesdays and Frydayes, to the lamentable tune of *Orawhynemeg*. The next prettie thing to this, was to my remembrance. Chaplain Some confuted with the blade sheath of his own dagger. Then there was recorded a brave agreement which Martin of his courtesie is contended to make with the bishops.'

After the taking of the printing-press Martin, as if dead or lost, was to be succeeded by his sons, who were to carry on the 'Pistling' instead of the father. Martin Junior published 'Theses Martinianæ.' The 'Theses,' in number 110, were said to have been found among old Martin's papers. In themselves they were trite enough. It was argued that the doctrine of the Church of England did not admit different degrees of ministers. The proof was that this was the doctrine of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes, which Fox had been allowed to publish by royal privilege. At the end of the 'Theses' Martin Junior speaks in his own person. He wonders what has become of his father, who was said to be hiding himself, and by some supposed to be dead. It appears that by this time Martin had other enemies besides the bishops. He had been ridiculed on the stage by what his son called 'poore seelie hunger starved wretches,' and pamphlets had been written against him. This tract was followed by 'The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior.*' This is the last of Martin's tracts, that is, of those which are extant. It is here repeated that it is due to Whitgift, and not to the Queen, that the Puritans were treated with severity. Martin recommends that if 'John of Canterburie will needs have a foole in his house wearing a wooden dagger and a cookes combe, that none is so fit for that place as his brother John Bridges, Deane of Sarum.' Martin says it is Bridges' right 'to displace those who now play the asse at Lambeth, and to be invested in that office in the solemn manner appointed for ordaining Bishops and Priests. His daily attendants are to be Dr. Robert Some, who is to be his confessor, and

* 10. 'The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior.—Wherein Senior, sonne and heire vnto the renowned Martin Marprelate the Great.

APPENDIX
TO
CHAP. II.

Martin answered by
Thomas Nash.

'Pappe with
an hatchet.'

when absent to read for him 'the Staruc-us booke in at Lambeth.' Dr. Underbul was to be his almoner, and 'drunken Gravate' to be 'yeoman of his cellars.' A 'parson of Stepney, was to make room before him with as he used to do in the morrice dance, and his supporters were to lead by the arms, Sir Gerrard Wright and Bland Bedford.' In this tract the name of the vicar of turns up as it were by accident. It was through his inability that John Penry was apprehended. The parish of was then full of Puritans. It is described as being a distance from London, surrounded by fields and groves which made it a convenient resort for those who sought of refreshment from their persecutors. Some who have interested in tracing the history of Penry have tried to find the name of the vicar by whose help he was apprehended. Of the pamphlets written against Martin, Disraeli says that it crushed him more effectually than the hanging of him. It was said in the belief that Penry was Martin. Some of the pamphlets supposed to have been written by Thomas Nash, and, as it was witty, it was assumed that they must be full of wit. It is out bestowing very great praise on the literary merits of the answers we may safely pronounce the answers to be slender imitations of the originals.

The first in order is called 'Pappe with an hatchet and a figge for my Godsonne or Cracke me this nut, or a countess that is a sound boxe of the eare for the idiot Martin.' The 'pappe with a hatchet' was a proverbial expression for doing something in an unkind way. In Lyly's 'Court Comedies' there is a passage:—'They gave us pappe with a spoone before we speake, and when we speake for that we have pappe with a hatchet.' As a specimen of the wit we may quote this passage:—'He is a cavalier. It may be he is some jester about the court, and of that I marvaile, because I know all the fools there, yet cannot guess at him.' Again, the writer says, 'there is no difference between a swallow and a martin, save only that the martin hath a more beetle head.'

There is no argument in the tract, except that those who assault bishops will ere long aim at the throne. It is directed 'To the Father and two Sonnes, Huffe, Ruffe, and Snuffe.'

land Caualliero.' The next is called 'An almond for a Parrot, or AP
Cuthbert Curry Knaves.' To give an almond to a parrot is the CR
same as to give a sop to Cerberus. This tract is supposed to
have been by the same author as 'Pappe with an hatchet.'
They are both ascribed to Nash, and are reckoned among the
cleverest of those against Martin. The writer of the 'Counter-
cuffe' appears again, pretending that he has been out of England.
This time he writes 'The Returne of the renooned Caualliero
Pasquill of England from the other side of the seas and his meet-
ing with Marforius at London upon the Royall Exchange.' The
author promised to write a 'Golden Legend,' to consist of the
lives of the Puritan Saints. It was to be a collection of stories
about the Puritans, like what Martin had told of the bishops and
Dr. John Bridges. It appears, however, that the materials were
not plentiful, for Pasquill in the end asks for help against Mar-
tin. He makes this 'Protestation upon London Stone:—' 'I
Caualliero Pasquill, the writer of this simple hand, a young man
of the age of some few hundred years, lately knighted in Eng-
lande with a beetle and bucking tub, to beat a little reason about
Martin's head, doe make my protestation vnto the world that if
any man, woman, or childe haue any thing to say against Martin
the great or any of his abettors, of what state or calling soever
they be, noble or ignoble, from the very court gates to the
cobbler's stall, If it please them these dark winter nyghts to
sticke up the papers upon London stone I will there give my at-
tendance to receive them from the day of the date hereof to the
full terme and revolution of seven years next ensuing.'

The report that old Martin was dead, suggested the idea of Mar-
mourning for him, writing his epitaph, and even dissecting him.
This was done in 'Martin's Months Minde, that is, a Certaine
Report and True Description of the Death and Funerall of Olde
Martin Marreprelate, the great Makebate of England.' The
author of the 'Months Minde' says that Martin had some wit,
though it was knavish, that he could make women and pot com-
panions laugh over the ale-benches, but his sons were 'dull
asses.' It is announced as good news to England that old Mar-
tin is dead. How he died left a wide field for conjecture; some
say he was taken by the Spaniards, others that he was hanged by
his own company at Lisbon, and some report that he died after
drinking too much wine. But the true account is, that having

APPENDIX
TO
CHAP. II.
—

Martin's Epi-
taphs.

radical moisture failed him. In his will his house was the Martinists and his work to Machiavelli. When was opened by the anatomists, it was not marvellous heart was hollow, his lungs made to prate, his gall-bladder of choler, his tongue swollen with blasphemy, and his head a crumb of brain. His epitaphs were,—

*'Sic pereant omnes,
Martinæ et Martinistæ.*

By his friends—

*'Art dead, old Martin? farewell then our schooles;
Martin, thy sonnes are but two paltrie fooles.'*

The Marprelate Tracts were distributed by a cobbler may be the cause of an epitaph by 'Clippe,' the godly cobbler—

*'Adieu, both naule and bristles, now for ever,
The shoe and soale (woe is me) must sever,
Besides mine Aule, thy sharpest point is gone,
My bristles broke, and I am left alone.
Farewell old shoes, thombe stall, and clouting leather
Martin is done, and we undone together.'*

One epitaph more—

*'London, lament, the East that sticks on sand,
The West that stands before the statelie hall,
The North, the boure, that bounds with tribble band,
The South, where some at Watering catch a fall.
Newgate and Bedlem, Clinke and Bridewell, bray,
And ye crows crie, for ye have lost your praye.'*

This last reminds us of Byron's satire :—

*'The Tolbooth felt defrauded of her charms
If Jeffrey died, except within her arms.'*

The Author's own epitaph on Martin should not be omitted—

*'Hic iacet, ut pinus,
Nec Cæsar, nec Ninus,
Nec magnus Godwinus,
Nec Petrus, nec Linus,
Nec plus, nec minus,
Quam clandestinus,
Miser ille Martinus,
Videte singuli.*

Et omnes sectistæ,
Et Machinelistæ,
Et Atheistæ,
Quorum dux fuit iste,
 Lugete singuli.

‘At gens Anglorum,
Præsertim verorum,
Nec non, qui morum,
Estis bonorum,
Inimici horum,
Ut est decorum,
Per omne forum,
In sæcula sæculorum,
 Gaudete singuli.’

There are yet two more tracts to be noticed, but as Martin is dead, dissected, buried, and epitaphed, we need not say much more. The first is, ‘Plaine Percevall the Peace-Maker of England. Sweetly indeavoring with his blunt persuasions to botch vp a Reconciliation between Marton and Mar-tother.’ The other is, ‘The First parte of Pasquils Apologie. Wherein he renders a reason to his friendes of his long silence: and gallops the field with the Treatise of Reformation lately written by a fugitiue, Iohn Penrie.’ Mr. Maskell says that ‘Plaine Percevall’ was written by a Puritan, under pretence of opposing Martin, but in reality favouring him. This, however, is an invention of Mr. Maskell’s, who evidently loved the Puritans with the same love that Martin loved the bishops. We are not willing to accuse Mr. Maskell, as he does Neal, the careful historian of the Puritans, of ‘lamentable ignorance or wilful lying.’ Neal was a partisan, and so is Mr. Maskell; the species is different, but the genus is the same.

There are some pieces in verse which ought fairly to be included in any list of Marprelate tracts; one is, ‘A Whip for an Ape, or Martin Displaied.’ It begins,—

‘Since reason (Martin) cannot stay thy pen,
We’ll see what rime will do, haue at it then.’

The argument is the solitary one that was always urged against Martin,—

‘And think you not he will pull down at length,

As well the top from towers as Cucke from Stewke;

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APPENDIX TO
CHAP. II. Another piece was called 'Marre-Martin.' A few lines
the tenor of it:—

'Marre-Martin.'

'Martins, what kind of creature mought they be?
Birds, beasts, men, angels, feends? nay, worse say we;
What favor would these Martins, shall I say?
As other birds wherewith young children play;
Let them be caged, and hempseed be their food,
Hempseed the only meat to feed their brood.
Dis-claim the monsters, take them not for thine;
Hell was their womb, and hell must be their shryne.

Many would know the holy asse,
And who mought Martin been,
Plucke but the footcloth from his backe,
The asse will soon be seene.'

'Marre Mar-Martin.'

To this there was an answer from the peace-making party:
'Marre Mar-Martin, or Marre Martin's meddling in
misliked.' One verse is enough:—

'While England falls a Martining and a marring,
Religion fears an utter overthrow;
Whilst we at home among ourselves are jarring,
The seedes take root which foreign seedesmen sow;
If this be true, as true it is for certaine,
Woe worth Martin Marprelate and Mar Martin.'

It is a question which some have raised, how far the
as a body were responsible for the publications of Martin
late. We should be glad to conclude that, on both
tracts were the work of individuals who did not represent
party; Martin repeatedly disclaims any co-partnership
that he alone is responsible for what he writes. In a tract
'The Plea of the Innocent,' by Jonas Nichols, published
we have a distinct repudiation, on the part of the Puritans,
any sympathy with Martin Marprelate. The writer says
'when they had made their petition to the reverend fathers
were expecting them to join in ending the strifes, the
grievous accidents which darkened the righteousness of the
cause.' The first of them, he says, 'was a foolish journeyman
termed himself *Martin Marprelate*, and his sons, who
counterfeit and apish scoffing did play the sycophant,
derisively abused many persons of reverend place and

(how justly, God knoweth),—we are called Martinists.' It is recorded in Strype's 'Life of Whitgift' that the answers were written by the advice of Bancroft, and there is reason to believe that he had to do with the writing of some of them. Whitgift recommended Bancroft for the bishopric of London, and this was one of the deeds which entitled him to that high preferment. Another was, that by his vigilance the books and press of Martin were discovered. It is said that the plays against Martin were performed in St. Paul's Cathedral. In the margin of 'Pappe with an hatchet,' over against the mention of a play, it is written, 'If it be shewed at Paules, it wul cost you foure pence; at the theatre, two pence; at Sainct Thomas a Watering, nothing.'

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Plays
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dral.

CHAPTER III.

HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE.—FIELD ON THE CHURCH OF KING JAMES.—OVERALL'S CONVOCATION BOOK ANDREWES.—BILSON AND BROUGHTON ON THE 'DES HELL.'—ARCHBISHOP ABBOT.—THE SABBATH CONTRITTITHES.—THE FIVE POINTS OF ARMINIUS.—RICH TAGU.—THE VICAR OF GRANTHAM AND HIS 'ALTAR. WILLIAMS.—ARCHBISHOP LAUD.—USSHER.—BISHOP THE SMECTYMNIAHS.—PRYNNE ON TIMOTHY AND JOHN MILTON.—CONFERENCE AGAINST INNOVATIONS DEAN OF WESTMINSTER'S.

Hampton
Court Con-
ference.

WHEN King James came to England, a petition presented to him, signed by a thousand* of Puritan ministers, asking the removal from the Prayer-book certain things to which they objected. The King immediately called a Conference at Hampton Court, to consider the objections. In the imperfect account of that Conference given by Dean Barlow, there is mention of almost every subject relating to doctrines or ceremonies, on which there was then any difference of opinion. There were present the bishops, seven deans,† Dr. King, Archdeacon of

* Signed by seven hundred, but generally called the millenary petition, as representing the wishes of a thousand ministers.

† The bishops were—Canterbury, John Whitgift; London, Richard Bancroft; Durham, Toby Matthews;

The deans were—The Cathedral of Worcester, James Christ's Church, Thomas Rector, Giles Thompson; St. Paul's, John Bridges; St. Paul's, John Chester, William Barlow, Launcelot Andrews.

ham, and Dr. Field, afterwards Dean of Gloucester, to represent the side of the Conformists, with Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Knewstubs, and Mr. Chatterton as representatives of the thousand ministers. The Conference contributed nothing towards the object for which it was assembled. The bishops, it is generally said, had made up their minds not to yield anything, and James's instincts were keen enough to discern that he was safer with the bishops than with the Puritans. The King, however, had studied theology, and had a judgment of his own on all disputed questions. He first asked for information concerning confirmation. He had been told that it was a part of baptism, without which baptism was not valid. This the King pronounced blasphemy. The Archbishop explained that it was simply an ancient ceremony of the Church, which had been wisely retained at the Reformation, but it was in no way necessary to the validity of baptism. Bancroft, Bishop of London, said that it was something more than a mere custom derived from the primitive Church. It was an apostolical institution. To confirm this view, he quoted Calvin's interpretation of Heb. vi. 2, where Calvin identifies the laying on of hands with the rite of confirmation. The King approved of Calvin's exposition. Toby Matthews, Bishop of Durham, read from St. Matthew's Gospel about the imposition of hands on children, and suggested that the ceremony should be called 'An Examination with a Confirmation.' The King gave his judgment upon absolution, which he described as being of two kinds, general and particular. All prayers and preaching imply absolution. It is particular when applied to special persons, who have done penance for their sins. Whitgift read to the King the Confession and Absolution from the Prayer-Book, which 'his Majesty highly approved.' Bancroft said they must deal fairly with the King. In the service for the Communion of the Sick, there was another form of absolution. He showed that a similar form was retained in several of the German Confessions, and he quoted Calvin as approving not merely

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CHAP. III. not allowed in the Church of England. Babing-

Baptism by
laymen.

— Bishop of Worcester, said that the compilers of the Book had designedly left an ambiguity in the words, 'if this had not been done, there might have been difficulty in getting the book through Parliament. Bancroft retained the idea of the venerable men who framed the Book of Common Prayer, trying to deceive by ambiguous words, and maintained the necessity of sometimes having recourse to lay baptism. We read in the Acts of the Apostles that three thousand were baptized in one day; and as there were no bishops or priests there, except the Apostles, they must have been assisted by laymen. For the antiquity of the custom, he quoted Tertullian and Ambrose, and reminded the Conference of the great importance of observing it. A child might be dying when no clergyman was at hand. If it dies unbaptized, we know nothing of its future state, but if sprinkled with the water of baptism, we have no doubt of its taint of its salvation. Bilson, the Bishop of Winchester, took the same view as Bancroft. He pleaded that it was an ancient custom of the Church of Christ, that the minister was not of the essence of the sacrament, and therefore it should be done by a lay person when a minister could not be found. The King answered that if the minister was not of the essence of the sacrament, it was nevertheless of the essence of its right and lawful administration. It was only to the Apostles that the words were addressed, *Go ye and baptize*.

Falling from
grace.

On the second day of the Conference, Dr. Rainold said that after the words 'depart from grace,' in Article XXIX. there should be added some explanation, such as 'not totally nor finally.' He thought this necessary to remove an apparent discrepancy between this Article and Article XXXI. on Predestination. He suggested, also, that the Canon Articles known as the Lambeth Articles, should be added to the XXXIX. He mentioned some other changes in Article XXIII., where 'in the congregation' might

of the Apostles,' which seemed to be in collision with what was elsewhere said of confirmation, where it was grounded on the practice of the Apostles. Here Bancroft begged that an ancient canon might be observed which forbids schismatics against bishops to be heard. Moreover, he said there was a decree of an ancient Council which did not permit any one to speak against that which he had already subscribed. Now, if any of the four Puritans present were among those who had petitioned the king for a reformation, they were evidently schismatics, and therefore not to be heard. This was the voice of antiquity, which, next to that of King James, was to Bancroft the voice of God.* The King suggested that some such word as 'often' might be inserted after 'grace given.' He then entered upon a discourse of God's eternal predestination, setting forth the necessity of always keeping this doctrine untouched. He objected, however, to the insertion of the Lambeth Articles; not that he did not approve of them, or that he thought they expressed any doctrine different from that of the XXXIX. The King only objected to the addition of more Articles than we already have. He did not want, as he expressed it, 'to stuff the book with all conclusions theological.'†

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* It has been said that Bancroft was an Arminian. It is certainly strange that Whitgift should have had an Arminian for his chaplain. The Bishop of Ely, following Dr. Cardwell, says, that Bancroft, at the Hampton Court Conference, replied to Dr. Rainolds on this question. So far this is true, but the substance of Bancroft's answer was, that we should not trust to predestination, saying, 'If I shall be saved I shall be saved.' He did not speak against predestination, but only against the abuse of that doctrine. Toplady says he was at the Lambeth Conference, but this is probably incorrect, as he was only made Bishop of London that year. Fletcher was probably the bishop of the Conference. The Bishop of

Calvinism, or Jerome Zanchy's Calvinism, was of the most moderate kind. Archbishop Laurence was an excellent special pleader, but he must be very cautiously received as an authority.

† The character of James was charmingly manifested at the Hampton Court Conference. He instructed the bishops in theology, like a true 'Head' of the Church. He discoursed on predestination, the wickedness and presumption of the ministers of the kirk in the country from which he had come, and other profound subjects. He was at once theological and playful. When Dr. Rainolds objected to the words in the marriage service, 'With my body I thee worship,' the King said, 'I think it is better to say, "I give myself to thee."

CHAP. III.

King James
on a preach-
ing ministry.

Dr. Rainolds suggested that in large dioceses tion might be administered by presbyters. Bancroft Jerome and other Fathers as opposed to confirmation except bishops. The King reminded Bancroft that he did not believe in the divine institution of bishops. Bancroft replied, that if he could not prove his lawful from the Scriptures, he would not remain for four hours. Bilson spoke of the inefficiency, and then called, the 'insufficiency' of the clergy. He then called the lay patrons for presenting incompetent men to livings. Since he had been Bishop of Winchester, no masters of arts had been instituted. He knew that the clergy were inefficient, but he dare not refuse to institute them. He might be served with a *Quare impedit*. Bancroft then knelt on his knees and begged the King that they might have a preaching ministry; 'priests that could bless the people,' 'administer the Sacraments,' 'absolve penitents,' and such like offices. The King complained of the hypocrisy of the times which prevailed in hearing sermons instead of receiving priestly benedictions. The King, however, had some sympathy for preaching. He said that a preaching ministry might be recommended. He recommended more frequent reading of homilies. More preachers could be found for the parishes. Rainolds asked for the revival of the 'prophesyings' which had been suppressed in the time of Elizabeth.*

Dr. John
Rainolds.

The members of the Hampton Court Conference were men of some reputation in the Church, and several of them are still known as writers. Of Whitgift, Bancroft, and Bilson, we have already spoken. Matthews, the Bishop of Durham, afterwards Archbishop of York, wrote the *Book of Homilies*. Campion, the Jesuit. Babington's works are chiefly practical and expository. He was a favourer of the Puritans. So also was Rudd, the Bishop of St. David's. Rainolds, the chief speaker on the Puritan side, was a learned man and a great writer, chiefly on the Romanist side.

versy.* He is said to have been well read in the Councils and Fathers. But the name to which we turn as best representing the spirit of the Church of England is that of Richard Field, the friend of Richard Hooker. His 'Book of the Church' was to the Church of Rome what Hooker's 'Polity' was to the Puritans. Field treated his subject with the utmost moderation, and never sought an unfair advantage over his opponents. In the 'Epistle Dedicatory,' which was addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he declared his object to be to search out which was the *household of faith*, which the *spouse of Christ*, which the *pillar and ground of truth*. This announcement might lead us to expect that he looked for the 'spouse of Christ' to be one of the communities into which the Church universal was divided, and that he was to prove it to be the Church of England as opposed to the Church of Rome and all other Churches. But this was not his thesis. It was enough to prove first, that the Church of Rome was not *the spouse of Christ*, not the *pillar and ground of truth*. He compared the Church of Rome to the Donatists of Africa. These poor Donatists, who were really the Puritans of the North African Church, have always been a bugbear to all who claimed the name of Catholic. They of course called themselves Catholics, but Augustine called them heretics, and Augustine is a great authority. They said that all who adhered to them throughout the world, were the Catholic Church, the true Church, undefiled, uncorrupt, pure as a 'gathered church' of Brownists or Barrowists. Against all who were out of their communion,

* Merely to call Dr. Rainolds a Puritan is to describe him very imperfectly. His reputation for learning was so great that Conformists have objected to calling him a Puritan at all. It has even been said that he did not willingly undertake to be the leader of the Puritans at this Conference. He does not always appear to advantage in Dean Barlow's account, and it is evident that he was frequently interrupted and treated

who did not scruple about the ceremonies. He wore his square cap and surplice, and conformed in everything. But though, like all the more moderate and rational men of the Puritans, he conformed himself, he yet wished that conformity should not be enforced on those who made it a matter of conscience. Among the things which Dr. Rainolds recommended at the Conference was a new translation of the Bible. To this re-

CHAP. III.

The Dona-
tists.

Donatism of
the Church of
Rome.

What is the
Church?

they pronounced an anathema as from the Lord Jesus. St. Augustine said they were not the Catholic Church, but they were a small body. They did not number the ranks the multitudes of Christians throughout the world. They were the most numerous party in Africa, and in other countries. Therefore they were not universal. If it was a question of numbers; and if it were still a question of numbers, Field could scarcely have doubted which of the two Churches, that of Rome or that of England, rejected the Donatists. But he was not, like St. Augustine, a rhetorician. He would not rest his argument on the fluctuating basis of numbers. His comparison was that the Church of Rome, like the Donatists, claimed to be the only true Church, to contain Catholicism within itself, to exclude from the Catholic communion, and consequently from salvation, all who were not in communion. This Donatism of the Church of Rome is supported by what Field calls 'glorious pretences of antiquity, unity, universality, and succession.' The sin was made to believe that everything is ancient which the Church of Rome professes, that it has the consent of all the bishops, that the bishops, succeeding each other in the same way throughout the world, never taught anything different from what the Church of Rome now teaches. This position, in Field's judgment, is unfounded. These bishops, taken as a whole, agreed with the Church of England more than the Church of Rome. At the Reformation we separated from a part which claimed to be the whole, that we might hold with the Church Catholic against the pretensions of the Church of Rome.

To defend this position, it was necessary to make careful definitions. Field begins with the Church, and with the most abstract conception, as consisting of unity and angels. They felt themselves imperfect, and in need of the fullness of being. This craving did not belong to the original creation. They were satisfied, while men and angels

as the reason of redemption, that men having fallen in Adam, God would have been deprived of a race of His most excellent creatures, if He had not redeemed them. Angels were on a different footing,—each was created by himself, and stood or fell by himself. The Church was in Adam, but, as Abel first offered sacrifice, we usually say that the Church began in Abel. The Jewish Church was called the synagogue. The Christian assembly, which was first formed on the day of Pentecost, was called the Church as distinguished from the synagogue. Heretics and schismatics are of the Church in some sort. They are not out of it or separated from it in the same sense as unbelievers are separated from it. The Church is a Church as opposed to infidels. It is Christian as opposed to Judaism, Orthodox in regard to heretics, and Catholic in regard to schismatics. But this universal Christian Church is only the Church visible, and is not to be considered as commensurate with the Church invisible, which is truly ‘the body of Christ, the Church of the elect.’ There may be many who are members of the visible Church, and yet not of the Christian Church, such as Jews. Some may be of the visible Church, but not of the Orthodox as heretics. Some may be orthodox, but not Catholic, as schismatics. Some may be of the visible, and not of the invisible, which consists only of the elect. The visible Church is always visible; that is, there always have been and will be Christian men holding the true doctrines of Christianity. It had been charged against Luther and other Reformers that they held the Church to have been sometimes invisible. Field says that this is not to be found in their writings. There is a sense in which the visible Church is sometimes invisible, not that there are no orthodox Christians, but in that company which is the true Church, many, yea, the greatest number and the most influential, may be in error. This was the case in the time of St. Athanasius, when the Church denied the Divinity of Jesus Christ; when the bishops, assembled in the Councils of Seleucia and Ariminum, condemned the Nicene faith. Athanasius alone of all

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CHAP. III.

The Church
visible and in-
visible.

If the Church visible is liable to err, and if it has its members many who are merely professors and Christians, how is it then the *spouse of Christ*, the *the Lamb*, and *His mystical body*? Field answers that it is only under certain limitations that we can apply terms to the Church visible. The Church is distinguished from Pagans, Jews, and schismatics by certain kinds of notes. Some are not perpetual, as number, extent, and the name Catholic. Others are perpetual, as the profession of all revealed truth, the appointed sacraments, and union under lawful pastors. Field goes on to say that there may be true Churches without the entire and sincere profession of the truth approved by the Church. Such were the Churches of Corinth and Galatia. St. Paul charged with departing from the faith, yet acknowledged for true Churches. Schismatics have the right faith and the due use of the sacraments, and yet are schismatics still. There is required in addition to the sacraments, 'communion,' which is another expression for *lawful*.

Notes of a
true Church.

The Church of Rome claims to be a true Church. Its notes are,—(1.) Antiquity. Field answers that the Church of Ephesus and many Churches of Ethiopia have no such note. (2.) Succession. Field says that a lawful and holy succession is an inseparable and perpetual note of a true Church. No Church can be without it. But there may be a lawful succession and yet no true Church, as among the Armenians, and Ethiopians, which, in the judgment of the Catholics, are not true Churches. It is not enough that there be succession. It must be true and lawful. (3.) Unity. This, Field says, the Armenian and Ethiopian Churches possess, but it is not enough in itself. He assents to this description of the true Church as given by the Roman Catholics:—'soever any company and society of Christians is in an orderly subjection to their lawful pastors, not erring from the rule of faith, nor schismatically rent from

of the Church, but only some of all provinces. And even CH. this need not be all at once. It constitutes Catholicity, that some in different ages in all countries be of *one* Church. Field says that he admits this note when thus understood :— ‘What Church soever can prove itself to hold the faith once delivered to the saints, and generally published to the world without heretical innovations or schismatical violations, is undoubtedly the true Church of God.’ With this one Church Field identifies the Reformed Churches, such as those of England, Germany, and Geneva. They are called Churches as belonging to different nations, but they are connected with that one Catholic Church which was established at Pentecost. They did not begin with the Reformers, but God used the Reformers as His servants to put away some evils that had grown up in them. The inclusion of non-Episcopal Churches determines what is meant by a *lawful* ministry. (5.) The name *Catholic*. Field says that the Roman Catholics boast of the ‘bare and empty name’ *Catholic*. There may, he admits, have been something in it in the days of our fathers, but it is now common to schismatics and heretics, and therefore not a mark of the true Church. When there was but one main body of Christians, the word Catholic meant something. But when the East was divided from the West, the name remained common to both parties. The Greek Church, not less than the Latin, is the Catholic Church. As this name has ceased to be a note of the true Church, so the names derived from men have ceased to be marks of heresy. Those who followed the form of administration left by Ambrose were called Ambrosians, those who followed Gregory, Gregorians; so Lutheran, Calvinist, and Zwinglians are called from Luther, Calvin, and Zwingle, ‘worthy servants of God.’

The Latin Church, Field says, was the true Church until our time. We condemn the errors, not the doctrines of that Church. The chief of these errors were a different Errors Church canon of Scripture, uncertainty of grace, seven sacraments, Rome, and local persecutions, and schismatical divisions in the Eastern

CHAP. III. ask where was our Church before Luther. It was is now. In saying that the errors were only re some men in the Latin Church, Field's meaning be that this was the case at the time of the Re By the Council of Trent they were adopted by Roman Catholic Church. It is not so difficult what he means as to express his meaning. He is of Churches, and the thing to be settled is, what a Church? His argument evidently is that the Churches are the same which they were before the tion. It was but a faction that embraced the errors were afterwards ratified by the Council of Trent. quoted as having proved that the doctrines of Fathers were the doctrines of the Reformation. However, admitted that the Fathers did not speak with precision, and that some of their sayings require of construction to make them harmonize with the faith.

Orders and order.

In what light Field regarded the foreign Church did not adopt the same polity as the Church of appears from what he has said of the Church. even more explicit. He defines principles, and them by examples. Orders, he reduces to the new order. He dare not, he says, condemn those who were ordained by presbyters when the bishops opposed to the truth of God. In their circumstances by presbyters was order, and therefore valid. He finds that from the earliest times there were bishops in the Church, but they were not really from presbyters. The office arose from the custom of having a chief pastor in every city. This pastor ministers under him as his assistants. It was a superiority of presbyters placed over other pastors. Field directly contradicts what was said by Bilson and Croft at the Conference of Hampton Court, that the especial offices which were not performed by presbyters.

of office. St. Jerome is quoted as saying that some things were generally done by bishops only, and this not by the necessity of any law, but rather for the honour of their ministry. The old canonists, some old bishops and writers are cited as teaching that the Pope may give authority to a presbyter to confer orders. It is also maintained that the suffragans in the Roman Church are not bishops, and yet they do the work of a bishop. The Lutheran and Presbyterian Churches are therefore reckoned as one with the Church of England, and as members of the Church Catholic. Unity under one head is declared unnecessary for Catholicity. It is to be regretted that there are diversities among the Reformed Churches, yet it is to the Church of Rome that we owe even these. When the abuses of the Church were great, there was no remedy provided. The prevailing factions of the Pope's flatterers prevented the calling of a General Council. There was no universal remedy, and therefore every nation had to set about the reformation of its own Church.

Among the members of the Hampton Court Conference who were authors, we should not omit the King himself. His works are not of much intrinsic value, yet they reflect the spirit of a time when theological learning formed part of the intellectual armoury even of a king. The Sovereign of England was defender of the faith; it was, therefore, right that he should understand what he had to defend.

James Montague, Bishop of Winchester, introduced the works of the King to the public with a preface, in which he showed that many kings had written books, beginning even with the King of kings. This was to refute an objection which he said was in the mouths of many people, 'that it ill befits his majesty to spend the powers of his so exquisite understanding on paper, which, had they been spent on powder, could not but have prevailed ere this to the conquest of a kingdom.' It is said that James lived in great dread of actual warfare, but he evidently delighted in the strife of tongues. Besides writing a commentary on the Revelation,

CHAP. III. 'Counterblast,' defended Protestantism against Perron, and Calvinism against Vorstius, the successor of Arminius at Leyden. There is nothing remarkable in James's theology. The bishops said that he was a Calvinist by divine right, and he, in return, told them that the bishops were by divine right. Like the ministers among whom he had been educated, and the clergy of the kingdom to which he had come, the King was a strict Calvinist. As he said, was at the creation made in the image of God, he lost that image by his fall. By grace it was in part restored to the elect only. The rest were given over to the hands of the devil, henceforth to bear his image.' He called Vorstius 'a monster,' 'a blasphemer,' and gave him other names of the same import. He regretted that he had not heard of Arminius till that arch-heretic was dead. At his death only did Arminius escape the vengeance of the King. 'Most High and Mighty Prince.' Bertius, another follower of Arminius, published a book, 'De Apostasia Sancti Petri.' He sent a copy of it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by a letter, in which, says the King, he was as shameless as to maintain that the doctrines of it were contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England.'

James's
hatred of
Arminianism.

Dean Overall
and the 'Con-
vocation
Book.'

The most eminent of the Hampton Court deans was Dean Overall, Dean of St. Paul's, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and finally of Norwich. Overall is now chiefly known by his 'Convocation Book,' which was first published by the bishop Sancroft, with a view to helping the cause of the last of the Stuarts. This work is of great historical interest, not merely because of the object for which it was published by Sancroft, but from its partly official character. The first book was read and approved by the Convocations of both provinces. It is signed by Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by John Thornborough, Bishop of Ely, for York.* The rest of it passed the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, and was in progress at York when the Convocation was prorogued. Overall's object was to establish the

begins with the Biblical account of the creation of the world. CHA
 It was made by Christ, who was, so to speak, the instrument of the Father in its creation. It had a beginning and that beginning was divine. We are not, he says, to suppose that the first men were without education and civilization; that they ran about in woods and fields, or, like wild creatures, rested in caves and dens. Adam's posterity could not please God by their natural powers. It was necessary that God should reveal to them the mystery of salvation. He ordained that there should be some with civic authority, and others with ecclesiastical authority. The former were to rule men, and the latter to instruct them in mysteries hid from nature. At first these offices were vested in heads of families, who were both rulers and priests of their own households. After the Flood the heads of the three families of the earth are Shem, Ham, and Japhet. But before they exercised their sovereignty Noah was the chief ruler. He was made king by God. His right to rule was not determined by the Deluge, nor was it bestowed upon him through the suffrages of his sons and nephews. It proceeded from God, and descended by divine appointment to his sons. As with kings so with priests. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were not chosen by the people to be priests, but were called by God. The tyranny of Nimrod led to confusion and barbarism; the people making priests for themselves led to idolatry. After the death of Joshua, God raised up judges. The consent of the people was not necessary to their election. The civil ruler was also above the priests. Aaron and the Levites were under the direction of Moses. The kings of Israel had authority, not only in things civil but in things ecclesiastical. They were commanded by God to instruct the people in righteousness. The kings, however, were not in ecclesiastical matters to command whatever they listed. There were civil duties with which the priest was not to interfere, and so the priest had duties which were not within the province of the civil ruler. Urijah did wrong when he charged Ahab in building an altar like to the

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CHAP. III. for them, under pretence of warrants from God, to kings, or to use violence against them. Solomon deposed Abiathar from the priesthood. A king may depose but a priest may not dethrone a king. Samuel anointed successors to kings that had been deposed; they were expressly commanded of God, and set examples for others without a similar command.

Curious arguments for the divine right of kings.

ought not to take up arms against the king, unless he had been himself made a king by express command of God. Overall follows the Jews throughout their history, that they always acknowledged the duty of obedience to civil rulers, whoever these rulers might be. At first they were under the kings of Persia, and had Zerubbabel and Nehemiah for their lawful princes, who were appointed over them by God without the election of the people. Another time they were the subjects of Alexander the Great, and when his government was settled over them, it was still their duty. When they were delivered from the hands of kings of Syria, they were the lawful subjects of Antioch and his posterity. It is difficult to believe that the Convocation really supposed that these cases were a thing for the divine right of kings.* The people submit to whatever government was actually settled among them. Kings, in many cases, were usurpers, but so far as they presented the principles of order and government, they were ordained of God. Christ, Overall says, from the beginning was the chief governor of the world. Adam received from Him, and so did Noah, but since the days of Noah there has been no visible king over the whole world. The Kingdom of Christ is made up of particular kingdoms. The secular government of the world has its parallel in the government of the Church. The Catholic Church in Jewish times was not one visible communion. It consisted merely of Jews and proselytes to the Jewish religion. It embraced devout men of all nations. The unclean worshippers of God as well as the circumcised. S

Pagans included in the Catholic

Naaman, Cornelius, and many others. Christ Himself was still King of the world, with the kings of the earth under Him. He was also the sole Head of the Church Catholic, which Church, says the Convocation Book of the Church of England, consisted of all devout men, whether Jews or Pagans, throughout the world. CH

In the second book Overall shows that we have no warrant from the Old Testament writings for any priest or bishop to claim jurisdiction over all the Churches of the world. The duty of obedience to order, whether civil or ecclesiastical, remained under the Christian dispensation unchanged. Such obedience is part of the moral law. Grace does not destroy nature ; the law, therefore, is binding under all dispensations. Christ was obedient to the temporal governors ; His example should be followed by His disciples. He kept the festival of the Dedication of the Temple, which was established by Judas Maccabæus. From His example Christians ought to keep the festivals established by Christian kings. He rejected the glosses and false interpretations of the Scriptures made by Scribes and Pharisees, and therefore learned men are justified in rejecting the false glosses and interpretations of the governors of the Church. He did not change the secular government which he established before His incarnation. His followers, therefore, are to obey their rulers, even when these rulers are infidels or Pagans. He did not materially alter the ecclesiastical government that had existed among the Jews. The essential parts of the priesthood under the law were instituted by God, not for a time only, but for all times. To this Overall makes one exception, which is, that the priesthood, so far as it was typical, was changed—an exception which to most people will seem excepting more than is left unexcepted, the essence of the Jewish priesthood being its typical character. Overall's object is to make the Jewish hierarchy correspond to that established in England. Rome, he said, makes the Pope to resemble

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him, as under Moses, the ecclesiastical power is to archbishops and bishops. The Jewish division (1) Priests with Levites; (2) Twenty-four *Principes*; (3) Aaron with Moses. The order under the Christian dispensation is—(1) Ministers of an inferior degree; (2) Bishops of a superior degree; (3) Archbishops, and in some places Patriarchs.* It is curious that this is the division of the Church of England, and not the one generally made by those who advocate the divine origin of Episcopal government. The probable explanation is that Overall and the Convocation were mainly on the defensive. They had to prove against the doctors of the Church of Rome that kings were above bishops; and against the Presbyterians, that all the ministers of the Church were not of one degree. They had to prove that a bishop was a lawful officer in the Church, and that the power of ordination was vested in bishops, and not in presbyteries. The Convocation maintains the antiquity and apostolicity of Episcopal government, and the Convocation declares in a canon of late years no man was considered a lawful minister in the Church who had not been ordained by a bishop. They prove from subscriptions appended to the Epistles of Timothy and Titus were bishops respectively of Ephesus and Crete, and they declare that to doubt the authenticity of these subscriptions is 'prejudicial to the writing of the Holy Spirit.'

Bishop Andrewes.

The works of Launcelot Andrewes consist chiefly of sermons, and some controversies with the doctors of the Church of Rome.† He is said to have been a great preacher.

* When the Church became more Catholic and more Orthodox, another parallel was formed.

<i>Jewish Church.</i>	<i>Christian Church.</i>
(1.) High Priest.	(1.) Bishops, successors of the Apostles.
(2.) Priests.	(2.) Presbyters, succeeding the Seventy disciples.

<i>Jewish Church.</i>	<i>Christian Church.</i>
(1.) Priests.	(1.) Pastors.
(2.) Teaching Levites.	(2.) Deacons.
(3.) Rulers of the Synagogue.	(3.) Elders.
(4.) Levitical lookers on of the Treasury.	(4.) Deacons.

—From the 'Counterpoise' of B. Andrews.

very learned man. It is difficult to read his sermons now, CHA and more difficult still to conjecture what interest could possibly have been in them. They must have repelled every hearer who had not an inveterate love of pedantry and punning. In the days of King James, Andrewes was the favourite Court preacher. For nearly twenty years he preached before the king every fifth of August and every fifth of November, the anniversaries of the Gowrie Conspiracy and the Gunpowder Plot. On these occasions he never failed to tell James that he was a king by the special appointment of the King of kings. To fight against King James, Andrewes said, was to fight against God. He illustrates this sublime thesis by playing on the words ordinance and ordnance, saying that a man might as well put himself in the face of all the 'ordnance in the Tower of London,' as against the will of the king, which was 'God's ordinance.' Preaching on the text 'By me kings reign,' *Per me reges regnant*, Andrewes says, 'So many *per me's*. Per me Clement, Castell, Catesby,* and then again so many *pers*. Per knives, pistols, poisons, powder, all against this *per* by continuance.' Then he applies it thus, 'If *per me reges* be from Christ, from whom is the other *per me*? If by me kings reign be Christ's, by me *kings slain*, whose *per* is that *per* of any but Christ's opposite?'

To Andrewes as a theologian, it is not easy to assign a fixed place. He was thoroughly Protestant in his doctrines, but his love of ecclesiastical or patristic language makes him often appear out of harmony with the principles of the Reformation. He maintained a sacrifice in the Eucharist, indeed, a real objective presence, but then he explained that presence not as the presence of Christ's natural body, but of the members of His body, the elect or mystical Church.†

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* Conspirators against the life of King James.

† This extraordinary conceit was evidently a sort of last refuge, when the Roman doctors urged that without transubstantiation the Church of Eng-

In Prynne's 'Canterbury's Doom,' there is a description of Bishop Andrewes' private chapel. It had all the sacerdotal utensils of a Roman Catholic church.—an 'altar' and candlesticks, a basin for oblations, a sil-

CHAP. III. In words he agreed with the doctrines of the Church of Rome, in meaning he was a whole world separated from them. He made the Church of England to resemble the Church of Rome, but it was only as a shadow, without substance. He received the theory of Episcopacy from Bancroft and Bilson, but he did not exclude from the Church Catholic the non-Episcopal Churches. He taught of justification by faith, and he advocated the obligation of the Sabbath. He said that the Pope was an antichrist; and if he preferred—as he seems to have preferred—a milder form of the doctrines of Calvin, there was no evidence that he entirely renounced them. There was occasionally in his sermons strong language about the necessity of baptism and the renovating power of grace in the sacrament. He illustrates also by curious figures the ark and the propitiatory, that a man must be in the ark to receive grace at all, for by it only, as by ‘condemnation,’ does grace flow to man. But Andrewes must not be judged by his figures nor by the sound of his words. He was adopting the indefinite, and, indeed, often meaningless language of the Fathers and the Schoolmen.

Christ's ‘descent into hell.’

At the last revision of the XXXIX. Article by Archbishop Parker, the conclusion of the third, concerning Christ's ‘ghost’ departing from Him, and being ‘ghosts that were in person,’ was omitted. It was originally as an interpretation of St. Peter's words of Christ preaching to the spirits in prison. If we interpret it by what is said on the same subject in the Institution of a Christian Man, it meant that Christ was to deliver from Hades the just and righteous souls who lived before Christ's advent. This was an old belief, some would call the Catholic belief of the ancient Fathers, and was and is the doctrine of the Church of Rome. But Augustine, whose authority was equal to all the others combined, did not understand the meaning of the descent into Hades. That renowned Father, being ignorant

Greek and Hebrew, supposed Hades to be the place of the damned, and concluded that Christ went and preached to the lost souls suffering the torments of hell fire. Calvin had interpreted the descent into hell as being no real descent, but only as meaning that Christ suffered on the Cross all the torments which the damned suffer in the place of punishment. It is not said for what reason the conclusion of Art. III. was omitted, whether out of deference to the opinion of Calvin, or because of agreement with the doctrine of Augustine. It is certain, however, that in Elizabeth's time the views of Augustine on this subject were generally adopted by the clergy of the Church of England. Whitgift had openly avowed them. He was supported by Bancroft and Barlow, but more especially by Bilson, who wrote 'A Survey of the Sufferings of Christ for Man's Redemption.' Bilson was to refute Calvin's opinion, which he said was novel. He was to defend Whitgift's, as the ancient opinion of the Catholic Church. Christ went down into hell, that is, the place of the damned, that He might possess the keys of hell and of death.

Whitgift, and especially Bilson, were answered by Hugh Broughton, 'the great Albionean divine,' as Dr. Lightfoot calls him. Broughton wrote on this subject: 'An Explanation of the Article *κατήλθεν εἰς ᾗδου* of our Lord's Soul going from His Body to Paradise,' and 'An Oration to the Geneveans,' in Greek and English. The latter referred to Calvin's doctrine. The former was a reply to Bilson. Christ said on His cross that that day He would be in Paradise. How then, Broughton asks, could He have descended to the place of torment? He did not descend. He ascended to His Father. He went to blessedness, as the souls of all righteous men had done before Him. The Hebrew word for the place of torment is Gehenna. Christ did not go there, but to Sheol, 'that which requireth all men to come to it.' Sheol is hell, or 'that which haileth all hence.' In Greek it is Hades, the unseen world. In Latin, to go to

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CHAP. III. says, 'My life is come near to Sheol'—that is,

Christ descended not to hell but to Sheol.

grave. Job, speaking of the prosperous wicked a moment they go down to Sheol.' He desired might be laid in Sheol till his change came; that resurrection. In the Old Testament it is generalised the grave or the pit. The corresponding Greek is used by all Greek writers in the same sense. When they were sent to Elysium, for misery to Tartarus all went to Hades. 'Bury me quickly,' said Patroclus, Achilles, in his dream, 'that I may pass the gates of Hades.' The souls, the forms of the dead, keep me aloof, do not let me pass over the ocean; but I wander for ever in the house of broad-gated Hades.' It is the grave, the world of dim shadows which all men associate with the grave. Broughton concludes that the 'descent into hell' means nothing more than that Christ died, and that other men, His soul went to the world of spirits. The souls of the righteous have been in Paradise ever since the world. Whitgift said that Christ descended into Gehenna or Gehenna, when He yielded up His spirit. Broughton, defending Whitgift, said that Christ's soul first descended into Paradise, and, after His body was buried, He descended into Gehenna. Broughton said that Christ went to Gehenna, but to Sheol or Hades; and to speak of His descent there from Paradise was like speaking of going from London to Britain, from that which is included to that which includes.

Archbishop Abbot.

Bancroft died in 1611. He was succeeded in the office by George Abbot, who held that office till 1633. In these years the Puritans had rest, and under Abbot's gentle reign they gathered strength for the contest which followed in the days of Archbishop Laud. Abbot was distinguished at Oxford for his opposition to the rigid divines who were generally known as Arminians, but who called themselves Catholics; and as they imitated Roman Catholic ritual, were supposed to be restorers of the Pope's

some object 'of mere beauty,' should be set up in place of CH
it. He said that crosses and crucifixes helped to keep the people in superstition. He commended, however, their prudence in seeking the advice of other persons, instead of following their own judgment. Reformations in religion made deliberately were most likely to be permanent. He recommended them, further, to seek the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. This, it appears, was done by the citizens, and with the approbation of Whitgift and Bancroft,—the latter of whom was then Bishop of London,—the cross in Cheapside was re-erected.

Abbot did not write much, and the few tracts which he did publish were mostly without his name.* The most important of them, at least the one which most concerns us here, is called 'A Treatise of the Perpetual Visibility and Succession of the True Church in all Ages.' It is a defence of the existence of a visible Church, independent of the Church of Rome. God has always had His own faithful people in every age. There never was a time when it could be said that there is no visible Church. It might be dispersed. Its members might not be able to meet for worship. It might be concealed for a time, but non-existent it has never been and never will be. It is true of the visible Church, that it shall never fail, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Before the Incarnation the Church was sometimes like a city set on a hill, at other times scarcely visible. And so it has been with the Church under the new dispensation. All Protestants, Abbot says, hold that there ever has been, infallibly and without exception, at all times some men professing the true faith. The Church of Rome says that there has always been an apparent hierarchy, but, according to Abbot, it is not that which constitutes a Church. Going back to the Old Testament, he finds that sometimes the saints were very few, and so difficult to be found, that the Psalmist said, 'there is not one godly man left.' Micah cried out, 'Woe is me, I am as
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CHAP. III. visible Church. But there were faithful souls who bowed the knee to Baal. So it was at the birth of the Church. The priests and Pharisees had all the show. They considered themselves to be the Church visible. They had their authority derived from Aaron and Moses. They were Abraham's children, the authorized teachers of the law; but Jesus called them 'blind guides.' The true Church consisted of those who looked for redemption in Israel; old Simeon, devout; Anna, 'the prophetess;' Zacharias and Elizabeth, 'walking blameless in the commandments of the Lord;' Joseph, 'the just man,' and Mary, his espoused wife. There were humble shepherds that watched their flocks in the wilderness, to whom the angels first announced the 'glad tidings of great joy.'

When Christ established His Church, it was not visible, yet often it would have been difficult to know where to find it. The Apostles and the first Christians were persecuted and persecuted, while the whole Jewish priesthood was against them. In later times they were forbidden to assemble for worship, and the Roman emperors sought to destroy them from the earth; but they continued to exist. The Church indeed, and yet almost invisible. The Church,—that is, the Church represented by the Pope, in the time of St. Athanasius,—became Arian, but the Church still existed. Tertullian said, 'Where there is a Church, although they be lay persons.' He predicted a great apostasy. Even the Rheims commission interpreted this of the Church of Rome, as referring to the Church falling away from the Catholic faith. St. Ambrose compared the Church to the moon, saying, that in that time it would be hidden by the darkness of night. Augustine used the same comparison, saying that, like the moon, it waxes and wanes. Sometimes it is partially and, at times, almost totally eclipsed. Such a period of darkness, Abbot says, preceded the Reformation hundreds of years. But in the darkest times God

The Church consists of those who

Dr. Rainolds recommended at the Hampton Court Conference 'that some order be taken for the better observance of the Lord's Day;' which, says Dean Barlow, was 'unanimously agreed to.' Notwithstanding this agreement, we may date from this time the beginning of a long controversy about the Sabbath. The Puritans had practised more rigid Sabbath observance than had been taught by any of the Reformers, either English or foreign. The more rigid they became, the more the other party endeavoured to reduce the Sabbath to the level of other days, or at least to make it of a class with the saint and festival days of the Church. It was the custom in England, as it is now in Continental countries, for the people, after the services of the Church, to spend the rest of the day in sports and pastimes.

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extracts from the writings of Hooper, Latimer, and Cranmer, on predestination. It was suppressed by Laud, but printed again in 1644, 'for the comfort of all God's people.' The copy in the British Museum has this account of its history prefixed in MS., and dated the same year as the book was printed; the year, the writer says, in which the Parliament then sitting passed sentence on Laud. There are no extracts in the book from the writings of the Reformers, which we have not already met. They do not prove that Hooper, Latimer, and Cranmer ever spoke of predestination in the strong and decided language used by Whitgift and in the Westminster Confession of Faith. This, however, is true, that they only spoke of predestination incidentally, or in popular sermons addressed to the multitude. It is evident to every unbiassed person, that all the Reformers were Calvinists in doctrine. The denial of this is the most daring thing in all ecclesiastical history. The continual appeals which the Reformers made to the people in their sermons, not to build on predestination, everywhere assume that there is such a predestination as that in which Calvinists believe. There are the words

There is a quotation from Cranmer, in which he says, that Jesus Christ came 'to preach and give pardon and full remission of sins to all His elected,' and to do this, it is added, 'He made a full redemption, satisfaction, and propitiation for the sins of the whole world.' This universality of atonement may seem to conflict with Calvinism, but it is only some Calvinists that limit the atonement. The Synod of Dort declared it to be universal.

It is to the lasting honour of Archbishop Abbot that he refused to read King James's 'Book of Sports.' We look back with a peculiar pleasure to the fact, that Grindal did what he thought right, in spite of Elizabeth, and that there was an Archbishop who had the courage to resist King James. Dr. Hook says, that by this refusal Abbot 'helped on the rebellion.' In the amusing and almost ludicrous account which Hook gives of Archbishop Abbot in his 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' there is this passage,—'Under the lax rule of a man who united, with an austere and repulsive temper, the most latitudinarian principles, the way was prepared for that rebellion which le-

CHAP. III. This was offensive to the Puritans. The other people have seen that a better observance of Sunday was more favourable to religion, but they feared the spirit of Puritanism, and the mere love of opposition was not confined to the Puritans only. At the Hampton Court Conference the agreement for the order was unanimous; yet before James's reign was ended, he published a declaration commanding to be read in all the churches, that people were to have their wonted recreations. This declaration was called the *Book of Sports*. The history of the Sabbath controversy is curious, and often interesting. The opposing parties appear sometimes to characterize each other. The Jews were commanded to keep the Sabbath, and to reverence the sanctuary. Both commands seem to be of the same kind, and to stand or fall with each other. In England the Puritans kept the Sabbath, and the Presbyterians revered the sanctuary.

Dr. Bownd. The best defence of the Puritan view of the Sabbath is the work of Dr. Bownd, first published in 1595, and re-pressed until 1606. It was called '*Sabbathum Novum Novi Testamenti* ; or, The True Doctrine of the Sabbath,' and was dedicated to John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich, in whose diocese Dr. Bownd was beneficed. The argument is those which we find in every orthodox treatise on the Sabbath. It is declared to be not a bare ordinance, but nor a mere civil and ecclesiastical constitution appointed for the sake of polity, but an immortal commandment of the mighty God, and therefore binding on the conscience of all men. It was given to our first parents, and kept by them, and by the patriarchs both before and after the law. It was revived on Mount Sinai, by the command of God to the Israelites. There was then prefixed to it an especial *Remember*, and after it were added reasons for its observance addressed to all kinds of men. It is perpetual in its nature, and therefore perpetual, remaining until the merely ceremonial was abolished. By the direction of the Spirit of God, the Sabbath was observed by the

or every eight. And we are to keep it by resting from our usual calling, to attend on the service of God. If we are to abstain from our daily labour, much more from all pastimes, or such recreations as may withdraw our minds from the service of God. Great liberty is left for cases of necessity, especially to rulers, both in the Church and Commonwealth. But the day should be spent entirely in God's service, either in public worship or in private devotion, or in giving instruction to our children, servants, or neighbours. There is an obligation resting on all masters of families, magistrates, and princes, to provide for the proper observance of the duties of the Sabbath, and to compel all who are under them to observe at least an *outward rest*.

The seventh day, says Bownd, was sanctified as soon as it was made. It would have been kept by Adam and Eve, as a day sacred above the others, even had they never sinned. Peter Martyr is quoted as saying that God blessed and sanctified the seventh day, to teach us that it was not first given on Sinai, any more than the other moral commandments were first given on Sinai. Bullinger is quoted as saying that the Sabbath came in with the first man, and it must go out only with the last man. It was in the beginning of the world, and must continue till the world's end. Bownd says that in Exodus xvi. Moses speaks of the Sabbath as known to the people before the giving of the law from Sinai. He classes it with the traditional knowledge that had descended from Adam and Noah. As the Patriarchs worshipped the true God by a public service, it is concluded that they must have observed the seventh day. Their religious exercises, which we find on record, might indeed have been performed on any day, yet they are of such a kind as are generally referred to the seventh. Beza was of opinion that Job kept a weekly Sabbath. There were many things inculcated by Moses which were known before his time, such as the distinction between beasts clean and unclean, which was handed down from Adam and Noah. The Gen-

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Sabbath. Christ and His Apostles generally were in the synagogues on the Sabbath day. St. John declares the continuance of the Sabbath in the Church under the more honourable name of *the Lord's day*. It is contained in the first book of the Scriptures, and it is not without praise in the last. If Adam stood in need of the Sabbath to preserve him from falling, how much more do we need it to help us in rising again! Bownd notices a difference in the mode of giving the ceremonial and the moral law. The former was given to the people through the mediation of Moses, the latter was given immediately to the people by the Lord Himself; and Irenæus declares that no part of the decalogue is taken away by the coming of Christ. Cyprian says that from the creation of the world the number seven was a sacred number. This was known to the Greek philosophers. The Romans, indeed, lost the Sabbath day and kept the ninth in its place. From the Gentiles Satan took away altogether the memory of the Sabbath. They kept the eighth as a holiday by wicked and superstitious rites. Perkins says it is probable, and Bownd says it is most sure and certain, 'that the Sabbath of the New Testament was limited and determined by Christ Himself to be the Lord's day.' The Apostles observed the first day of the week, and they had the command of Jesus to do whatever they had seen Him do. Chemnitius says that the change of the day is not the taking away of the Sabbath. The general law remains. It is still the Sabbath. The particular only is changed; it is not that seventh day which was kept by the Jews. Faustus, the Manichee, said to Augustine that he must either renounce Moses or his doctrine, for their doctrine was different. To which Augustine answered, that their doctrine was not diverse, but the time which Christ appointed was not the same which Moses taught. In Acts xx. 7 we find the day changed from the Sabbath to the first day of the week, ready to be preached on 'the first day of the week, ready to do the morrow.' Ignatius says, 'Let every one of you keep the Lord's day.'

The Apostles
observed the
first day of
the week.

as saying, 'To-day we have celebrated the Lord's Holyday.' CH Justin Martyr testifies how it was observed in his time; the Christians 'met in one place to hear the writings of the prophets.' Augustine says, 'the Apostles and men of apostolical authority have thought that the Lord's day ought religiously to be kept, because on it our Saviour did rise from the dead;' and again he says, 'Let us take heed that our rest be not turned into idleness and vanity, but being sequestered from all rural works and from all business, let us wholly attend upon the worship of God.' Dr. Bownd advocated such an observance of the day of rest as was enforced by Nehemiah, when he put down the treading of the winepresses, the bearing of burdens, and the selling of victuals on the Sabbath day.

The changing of the day was the most formidable difficulty in the Puritan argument. The Jewish Sabbath was never expressly set aside, nor the first day of the week put in its place. If it was merely ceremonial, it doubtless ended with the ceremonial law. The Puritan said it was not ceremonial but moral, and therefore it was to continue always. But if the command to keep holy the seventh day in memory of the creation was moral, to keep *that* day sacred must have remained the essence of the Commandment to the end of time. There were men who felt that this argument had weight, and there were some who did not fear to accept the conclusion, that the seventh day, or Jewish Sabbath, was binding on all men in all ages. This was maintained by Theophilus Brabourne, who wrote 'A Defence of that most ancient ordinance of God's, the Sabbath day.' Brabourne adopted all the Puritan arguments, except those that related to the change of the day. The Fourth Commandment, he said, was simply and entirely moral. The seventh day, that is Saturday, ought to be an everlasting holiday. It obligeth all Christians as well as Jews. Sunday he called an ordinary working day, to convert which into a Sabbath was 'superstition and will-worship.' All the Commandments

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CHAP. III. the synagogue on that day, and instructed His di-

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do the same. For three hundred years, Brabourne Church followed His example, and kept holy the Sabbath. The change to Sunday was one of 'the tions of Popery.' It began at the Council of which condemned the observance of the Saturday. Ignatius called Sunday the Queen of days, implying there was another day higher, which is 'the King.' Socrates is quoted as saying, that the first Christians kept two days in the week, which Brabourne explains, was kept for the Sabbath, the other was kept partly were, a light holiday or lecture day. The seventh the memory of the creation, should be kept by all, because all men were benefited by the creation. To keep another than the day appointed is to sin against God. We are not commanded to keep holy the first day of the week. Its observance, therefore, cannot be a matter of indifference. Whatever whatsoever is not of faith, the Scripture says, is sin.

Bishop White
on the
Sabbath.

Brabourne was specially answered by Francis White, Bishop of Ely, who at the same time examined the answer of Dr. Bownd. White called his book 'A Treatise on the Sabbath Day, containing a Defence of the Church of England against Sabbatarian Novelty.' It was written at the request of Archbishop Laud, to whom it was dedicated. The occasion is chiefly occupied with the subject which has become the life of the Church,—the *jus divinum* of the Sabbath. The Church of England, says White, is part of the Catholic Church. Her doctrine of the Sabbath is the Catholic doctrine. The Church of Rome errs in claiming to be the spouse of Christ. The Presbyterians fall into a similar error in supposing their sect the only kingdom of Christ. White speaks of the Sabbatarian controversy as having troubled both Church and State ever since Thomas Cranmer's 'unlucky days.' He hoped his book might be the means of settling the long-vexed question. Brabourne's doctrine shows to be opposed to that of the Church of England.

Church is declared to be the pillar and ground of truth,— the conduit-pipe through which true doctrine comes down to us. White denies that any command was given to Adam to keep the Sabbath, or that we have any historical record that the Sabbath was observed by the Patriarchs. In such a case, the rule of Athanasius is to be followed :—‘ Because the Holy Scripture is altogether silent in this matter, we may be assured there was no such thing done.’ It is the judgment of the ancient Fathers that God imposed upon Adam but one positive precept, and that was abstinence from the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The nature of the things required in the Fourth Commandment is such as could not have been required in Paradise. What need was there, in a state of innocency, that man should rest from toilsome labour? Were the ox and the ass, the man-servant and the maid-servant, to be in want of a seventh day’s rest in the blessedness of Eden? We have many testimonies, from the ancient Fathers, that the Sabbath was not observed before Moses. Justin Martyr says, ‘ In the days of Enoch, people observed not circumcision nor the Sabbath.’ Again, he says, ‘ Before Abraham there was no use of circumcision, nor before Moses of keeping holy the Sabbath.’ Tertullian says, ‘ Enoch, Noah, Melchisedec, Abel, and others observed not the old Sabbath.’ Irenæus says, ‘ Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness, before he was circumcised, and without observance of the Sabbath.’ Bra-bourne and Dr. Bownd had noted that the mode of giving the moral law is as different from the mode of giving the ceremonial. The one, they said, was given immediately by God; the other, immediately by angels. White refuses to admit the distinction, for often where God is said to have spoken to men with His own voice, it only means that He spoke by angels or by the prophets. St. Augustine, he says, is resolute that Almighty God, in the time of the Old Testament, did not speak to the Jews with His own voice, but only by means of His ministers, either angels or men. But even if it were granted that God had spoken immediately, White

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into the synagogue on the Sabbath days, that embrace every opportunity of preaching the Gospel were reasons why the first Christians should sometimes serve the Jewish ceremonies. Augustine says, if they should be observed for a time, to give them a decent burial. Ignatius, in calling Sunday the day, did not imply that there was a day higher day. He meant only to designate the transcendence of that day. Gregory of Nyssa says, that the two equal, as it were, *brothers german*, but the Sabbath preferred to the Sunday. The mere fact of all men benefited by the creation makes nothing for the sake as all men are benefited by redemption as well as by the sacrifice of the cross was for the whole man. The first day may not be commanded in the Scriptures, but it is appointed by the Church, and we are commanded to *hear the Church*, and to obey those that *rule over us*. There are many things which are solely on the authority of the Church, as the interpretation of certain portions of the Scriptures, the baptism of the perpetual virginity of Mary, and the superiority of bishops over priests and deacons. Brabourne Bownd, claimed for the Sabbath a rigid observance, differed only about the day to be observed. Christ commanded his disciples not to profane the Sabbath by working on it, and in view of the destruction of Jerusalem, they were to pray that their flight might not be in the winter Sabbath day. White answers that this was not on account of the sanctity of the day, but that it had respect to maintaining Jewish reverence for the day of rest. It shows that the Catholic Church has always had no give licence for working on the Lord's day. In Rome's time the most devoted Christians did not work on the Lord's day. Jerome, in his funeral oration on Lady Paula, says that she 'repaired duly to the house of God, which was nigh her cell, and after some time from thence to her own lodging, she herself and

with Brabourne, that the Sunday was a day on which ordinary work might be done. It was a kind of light holiday or lecture-day, appointed by the Church. He advocated, in the spirit of the king's declaration, that after the Church service was ended, it was a proper time for sports and recreations, such as music, dancing, playing at games, especially those conducive to bodily strength; and he quoted from the Talmud that the same things were allowed by the Jews on their day of rest, 'Young people were to disport themselves on some part of the Sabbath with running, leaping, or dancing, provided that they were done in honour of the Sabbath.'*

It might have been thought, beforehand, from their traditional principles, that White's party would have been the most rigid Sabbatarians. The idea of a traditional Sabbath from the beginning of the world to the end of time, ought to have been congenial to them. Sacred days must ever claim kindred with sacred places. The advantages to religion of reserving certain days, exclusively for the cultivation of devout feelings, must have been as obvious as the advantages of keeping sacred certain places for the performance of religious duties. The Puritan, freed from the influence of controversy, has felt the sacredness of the place where he was accustomed to worship God and the devout High Church-

* In 1633 complaints were made to the chief justices about 'revels,' 'church ales,' etc. Dr. Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, gives an account of them, and the great good they did by promoting benevolence and good feeling. After church the people went to their sports and pastimes in the churchyard, or in some public-house, where they drank and made merry. Under the influence of beer their liberality expanded, and they collected money for such objects as re-casting the church bells, called 'church ales;' maintaining the parish clerk, called 'clerk ales;' setting up a poor parishioner, which was called 'a bidale.' Of the bishops' advocacy

that day which God's law, and even our own reason, hath consecrated, that we might have one day, at least, of seven set apart wherein to examine and increase our knowledge of God, to meditate and commune of our faith, our hope, our eternal city in heaven, and to quicken withal the study and exercise of charity; at such a time, that men should be plucked from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and by bishops, the pretended fathers of the Church, instigated by public edict, and with earnest endeavour pushed forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixed dancing, is a horror to think. 'Thus did the reprobate hireling priest, Balaam, seek to subdue

CHAP. III. man has not been insensible to the sacredness of
 — bath feeling and the Sabbath day. If Milton could

‘And let my due feet never fail
 To walk the studious cloister’s pale;
 And love the high embowèd roof,
 With antique pillars massy proof;
 And storied windows, richly dight,
 Casting a dim religious light,—

George Herbert could burst out in raptures on
 of the day,—

‘Most calm, most bright.’

Dr. Heylin
 on the Sab-
 bath.

Peter Heylin wrote ‘A History of the Sabbath.’ His hatred of the Puritans is a sure pledge that he will write the opposite of whatever they maintained. Heylin writes in the preface that the Puritan notions of the Sabbath are so entirely new that no Church whatever had ever had them. Their advocates were of Calvin’s platform; and this they had no countenance from Calvin. They were their master ‘to give themselves up to the glory of a new invention.’

The Lord’s
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 stitution.

Heylin argues that the Sabbath was not established in Paradise, that it is not naturally imprinted on the human mind, and that it was not kept by the Patriarchs or Moses. It was never reckoned a moral precept, and was always disregarded when business or necessity required. It was abrogated for ever with the other ceremonies of the Jewish dispensation at the destruction of the temple. The Lord’s day was instituted by Christ nor commanded by His Apostles. It was ordained by no authority but that of the Church. In the Church it was voluntarily consecrated to religious purposes. It advanced to its present state slowly and by degrees. It owed its present advancement partly, says Heylin, to the edicts of princes, the canons of particular councils, the decretals of several Popes, and the orders of inferior ecclesiastical authorities. In many Protestant countries it is still subject to the control of the Church. In no Church in the world was it ever so nearly lost as in the old Jewish Sabbath.

safest medium between superstition and profaneness. The old Fathers ranked the Sabbath with circumcision. Eusebius, showing that the religion of the patriarchs before the law did not differ from that of Christians, says, 'They were not circumcised, no more are we; they kept not any Sabbath, no more do we. They were not bound to abstinence from sundry kinds of meats which are prohibited by Moses, no more are we.' Irenæus indeed says, that 'the Decalogue is in full force, enlarged rather than dissolved by Christ.' Heylin explains this, that Irenæus must refer to that part of the Fourth Commandment which is moral, if he did not altogether exclude this commandment from the moral code. The Jews, according to Heylin, were not strict in their observance of the Sabbath, if we except some points of superstition. They did not work, but they employed others to do work for them. They would not milk a cow, but would hire another person to milk it. Buxtorf mentions some of the minute laws of the Jews, illustrating their superstitious observance of the Sabbath. A horse might have a bridle or a halter but not a saddle. A tailor might not wear his needle in his sleeve. People were not to wear clogs or pattens. They were not to wipe their hands with a towel, but with the tail of a cow or a horse, and, to do despite to what Jesus said about works of mercy on the Sabbath day, they are forbidden to take an ox or an ass out of a ditch. Jesus, continues Heylin, set Himself against the Sabbatical observance of the Jews, and, from His day, reverence for the Sabbath began to decline. Tostatus says that the festivals under the Old Testament were appointed by God, but under the New they are left to the prelates of the Church. For the first thousand years after Christ, the word Sabbath meant Saturday. In 791, Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquilegia, at the Synod of Friuli, decreed that on Saturday evening the people should prepare themselves for keeping Sunday. In the middle ages sports and games were as lawful on Sundays as on other days. The general voice of the schoolmen on the Fourth Commandment is that it is ceremonial and

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CHAP. III. on business, for a ferryman to transport passengers

The Sabbath
in Scotland.

when going to Mass. Against these things the
protested. Calvin speaks of carnal superstitions
Sabbath which existed in his time. Peter Martyr
day was left to the liberty of the Church, when the
of the resurrection was preferred to that of creation
says that, as the Apostles did not command a day
left to the judgment of the Church. In 1571, the
Sunday was forbidden by the Reformed Church
at the Synod of Rochelle. This prohibition, in
judgment, was detrimental to the progress of the
religion, for the French are greatly addicted to the
dancing. In Scotland, by a Parliament held at
Alexander II., it was forbidden to fish in any water
Saturday after evening prayers until sunrise on the
Such was the power of the Pope in Scotland that
actment was again enforced under James I. The
power was never so great in England. In a synod
Lambeth, under Archbishop Peckham, it was de-
all obligations from the old law were ended, and
Lord's day was kept solely because of the institution
Church. Buying and selling on Sunday were not
by this synod. The prohibition of Sunday markets
later date. But it was this synod which determined
is now the Church of England doctrine concerning
Sabbath.*

* There are two volumes on the literature of the Sabbath, by R. Cox. Dr. Hessey treats of it largely in his Bampton Lectures. Among the curiosities of the controversy in the seventeenth century, was a treatise called 'The Seventh Day Sabbath, or a Tract on the IV. Commandment, wherein is discovered the cause of the controversies about the Sabbath day, and the means of reconciling them: more particularly is showed, (1.) That the seventh day, from the creation, which was the day of God's rest, was not the seventh day which God

(3.) That Sunday is, with as truly the Sabbath Saturday with the Jews. Chasie, Parson of Nutsham. The argument is that it is a conventional arrangement to make Sunday the first day of the week, might just as well be the seventh, for it really is the seventh day, following the six days of creation. In 1634, Christopher Wren, in his 'Discourse of the Sabbath or Lord's Day.' It was a plea for the keeping of Sunday as a holy day, merry on Sunday, because of the festival of the resurrection.

It would be a profitable discovery if we could determine how far men's interests have an influence on their belief. The clergy lost nothing by denying the divine origin of the Lord's day, but there was another subject discussed about the same time, by which they were likely to lose something, if they could not show a divine origin. This was the question of tithes. Were they instituted at the beginning of the world? Is the tradition of their payment universal? Was a tithe always a tenth, neither more nor less? and was it a tenth of all a man's possessions or only of a part of his possessions? There had been several books written on the subject, but the first which excited any great interest was the work of John Selden, called 'The History of Tithes,' published in 1618. Selden said, in his preface, that his object was not to prove that tithes were not due by the law of God. He did not wish to prove that the laity may not pay them. He was not against the maintenance of the clergy. He wished only to write a history, and to state such facts as he could find concerning the payment of them. The first mention of tithe is in the history of Abraham. Returning from the slaughter of the kings, he met Melchisedec, to whom he paid tithes of all. But of what all? His substance or his spoils? The old Jews understood of his spoils only. Josephus is of the same opinion. The Septuagint expressly says that he paid tithes of the spoils, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews follows the reading of the Septuagint. The next mention of tithing is in Genesis xxviii. 22, where Jacob says, 'And the stone, which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's house, and of all that thou wilt give me I will tithe, and give the tenth unto thee.' Josephus says that upon his return, twenty years after, he performed his vow by giving the tithe of all that he had gotten. We read in the beginning of Genesis that Cain and Abel made offerings to the Lord, but there is no mention of quantity. There is notice only of the mind that offered and the quality of the oblation that was made.

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CHAP. III. were to be offered. The first of the forwarder

Tithes among
the Jews.

barley, figs, grapes, olives, pomegranates, and d
be given to the priest, and, of these, the owner
what quantity he chose. Then came the *thereuma*
offering,—first fruits of corn, wine, oil, and fl
quantity not being determined by Moses, the ol
sessed it at the fiftieth part. Some paid only a s
richer people a fortieth. In the Book of Tobit, th
tion of a *third tithe*, or tithe of a third year; for
the fatherless, and the widow. It is so explain
sephus, and was called by the Rabbins the poor
The first-born of the cattle were the Lord's. The
to the priest, of clean beasts, in kind; of unclean
The tithing of herbs was not in Scripture. It re
on tradition. The whole of these tithes were paid
some of them were omitted, and sometimes there
sometimes less than was fixed by law. The her
paid with the greatest exactness, and though not c
yet Christ said it was among the things which ou
be left undone.

Tithes among
the Gentiles.

Among the Gentiles, there is at least the use o
tithe. The Greeks tithed their estates to Hercu
spent the tenth in sacrifices, gifts to his temple, a
his honour. Selden says that this was merely
giving, and not commanded by any law, pontific
Similar arbitrary vows and thanksgivings were
among the Romans. The old Pelasgi gave to
Delphi, by command of the oracle, a tenth of th
the merchandise of the sea. Postumius, the d
his victory over the Latins, tithed the spoils for
of Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine. It had been
from a passage out of Festus that the ancient
paid tithes for the service of religion, but Selden
are many things to disprove this. Their custo
Harpocrates testifies, 'to tithe the spoils of war t
Even this was but a custom, depending on the ch

They even sold all their possessions and laid the money at the Apostles' feet. We read of tithes in the third and fourth centuries as being paid to emperors and lords of the soil. The free gifts of the faithful had made the clergy so rich, that they were envied for their riches. In the fifth century tithes were paid to abbots, to the poor, and to the clergy. By tithes is meant 'free-will offerings to the amount of tithes or the tenth part of their possessions.' In the eighth and ninth centuries some were endowed with the perpetual right of collecting tithes. In some cases this right was granted voluntarily by the owners of the lands. In the time of Charles Martel tithes were not of sufficient value to tempt him to seek possession of them. The wealth of the Church did not consist in tithes. There are some canons professing to be of this date, enforcing tithes, but Selden says they are not general. The Fathers asked the faithful to pay tithes as a duty. A tenth was not enforced by law, but recommended as what ought to be given; and while some gave less than a tenth, others gave more. In the tenth and eleventh centuries we find more frequent consecrations of tithes made voluntarily by the owners of land. We find also frequent canons enforcing the right of collecting them. The Church claimed them as inalienable property, and the secular power helped the Church to possess them.*

Sir James Sempil wrote a treatise on the sacredness of Church property, which he called 'Sacrilege Sacredly Handled.' The occasion of this treatise was the munificence of the King towards the Church, and the argument is, that what is once consecrated to religion can never be alienated without sacrilege. He devoted an 'Appendix' to Selden's work, in which he denied that Abraham gave tithes only of the spoils. He pleaded that the institution of tithes was moral and not ceremonial, that the tithes paid to Melchisedec and the Levitical priests were still due to the clergy, and he thought that St. Paul inculcated the payment of them, when he said, 'No man goeth a warfare at his own charges'.

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CHAP. III.

Richard Tillesley, Archdeacon of Rochester, wrote madversions on Mr. Selden's *History of Tithes*.¹ He dedicated his work to King Charles, 'the advocate and father of God's portion, the Church, that is, tithes.' He said 'the number tenth or tithe was certainly very ancient. It belonged only to sacred and consecrated persons, kings and priests, who 'stand in God's place to receive the portion as God's upon earth.' Tillesley says that it was wrong in confounding tithes with arbitrary gifts given to the Church. The tenth is by divine law due to God. A gift of land is a gift which may be either given or held. As Sir James Sempil replied to Selden's arguments from Scripture, and proved by Scripture that tithes were divinely instituted, Tillesley was to take up the subject. Sempil left it, and to demonstrate from the Fathers and great interpreters of Scripture, that they understood the institution of tithes to be divine. Vincentius had laid it down as a rule that the constant and unanimous consent of antiquity was the best evidence of the truth of Scripture; and Tillesley, in this belief, adduced a catalogue of ancient authors, who testified that tithes were, is, the exact tenth part of all property, belonged to God by divine right.*

Arminianism
in the Church
of England.

Towards the end of the reign of King James the first of Arminius began to find favour among the clergy of the Church of England. Hitherto Calvin was the reigning opinion. Those who say that the Church of England was Calvinistic in doctrine have but two arguments, even the appearance of being plausible. The first is, that our Reformers followed Melancthon and the Augsburg Confession, rather than Calvin. This, however, was a mistake, not in the doctrine itself, but only in adopting a mode of expressing it. The other is, that the Lambeth Articles were rejected at the Hampton Court Conference. This is justly answered that the archbishop and bishops who were present at the Hampton Court Conference held the same

as the framers of the Lambeth Articles; that James himself CH was a high Calvinist; and, moreover, that the doctrine of the Lambeth Articles was not rejected. The king refused to incorporate them with the authorized standards, giving a distinct reason that he would not 'stuff the book with all conclusions theological.'

James, as we have seen from his own writings, was no friend to the Anti-Calvinistic divines that had risen up in the States of Holland. He wrote against Vorstius; and when the Synod of Dort assembled in 1618, to condemn the doctrines of Arminius, James sent commissioners* to represent the Church of England. The five points condemned were:—

(1.) 'That God, from all eternity, determined to bestow The fi salvation on whom He foresaw would persevere unto the end points in their faith in Christ, and to inflict everlasting punishment on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist unto the end the divine succours.

(2.) 'That Jesus Christ, by His death and sufferings, made an atonement for the sins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in particular; that, however, none but those who believe in Him can be partakers of this divine benefit.

(3.) 'That true faith cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, nor from the force and operation of free-will, since man, in consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable of thinking or doing any good thing; and that therefore it is necessary to his conversion and salvation that he be regenerated by the operation of the Holy Spirit, which is the gift of God through Jesus Christ.

(4.) 'That this divine grace or energy of the Holy Ghost, which heals the disorders of a corrupt nature, begins, advances, and brings to perfection everything that can be called good in man, and that consequently all good works, without exception, are to be attributed to God alone and the operation of His grace; that, nevertheless, His grace does not force a man to act against his inclination, but men

CHAP. III. be resisted and rendered ineffectual by the perverse
 — the impenitent sinner.

(5.) 'That they who are united to Christ by
 thereby furnished with abundant strength, and
 cours sufficient to enable them to triumph over t
 tions of Satan, and the allurements of sin and ter
 but that the question whether such may fall from
 and forfeit finally this state of grace, has not ye
 solved with sufficient perspicuity, and must theref
 more carefully examined by an attentive study of
 Holy Scriptures have declared on this importa
 The later Arminians determined that a man may
 a state of grace totally and finally.

The Church
 Calvinistic in
 the beginning
 of James's
 reign.

At the beginning of the reign of King James
 both Articles were generally received by the cl
 the end of his reign, or at least in the reign of
 Arminianism was taught openly even by dignitar
 Church. It is said that some one at the court of K
 once asked what the Arminians held, and was answ
 they held all the best bishoprics and deaneries in the
 This change did not take place without a struggle
 rise to many controversies. William Prynne, afterv
 brated for his sufferings, wrote a defence of the Ca
 the Church. Prynne was a Churchman of the ol
 than type,—a Calvinist and a Conformist, yet not
 in the Divine right of Episcopacy. He called his bo
 'Arminianism,' and he urged the bishops to extir
 'Arminian thieves and robbers.' He quoted the
 Abbot, the Bishop of Salisbury, who said he did
 by what force of the winds the unclean breath
 nianism) had also blown upon our regions and
 some of our divines,' and he denied a rumour th
 that King James himself had renounced Calvinis
 calling upon the bishops to extirpate the new
 appealed for the same object to the High Court
 ment. He told them that the Arminian novelties l

cause of all the disasters that had of late overtaken the nation.* 'God's heavy wrath and curse,' he said, 'had been upon us ever since this heresy had reached our shores.' Prynne applied the test of Vincentius Lirinensis, that what all the Fathers of the Church declare to be heresy must be received for heresy. The universal consent of all the Fathers and Doctors of the Church since the Reformation was against Arminianism. It must therefore be a heresy. He quoted various writers of Elizabeth's time who had guarded the expression 'fall from grace' with the explanation 'but not totally or finally.' He gave the history of the Lambeth Articles, and their incorporation into the Articles of the Church in Ireland, which were approved by King James, and printed here as by authority. He reasoned also that the two Churches being one, there was an argument that their doctrines did not contradict each other. He quoted such passages from the Prayer Book as speak of the elect, the chosen, and the necessity of special grace to change the heart. He explained the universality ascribed to the Atonement as being *sufficient* for all, but efficient only for the predestinated. He quoted from the Homilies such passages as traced to God's Spirit the origin of any good in man; and, as to perseverance, he found it written that 'the Spirit of God doth always dwell in the hearts of the regenerate, and that David, Solomon, Noah, Lot, and Peter, though they fell into gross and scandalous sins, yet they did not fall finally nor totally from the state of grace.'†

The theologians whom James had sent to the Synod of Dort were still living, and ready to join with Prynne in declaring Arminianism a novelty in the Church of England. Davenant, now Bishop of Salisbury, denied the universality of the Divine love. An anonymous author wrote an Arminian treatise, which he called 'God's Love to Mankind.'‡ Davenant wrote an answer, in which he admitted that God

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* Cromwell complained in Parliament that Dr. Neile, Bishop of Winchester, gave countenance to divines you shall see him turn into one of those frogs that rose out of the bottomless pit.

CHAP. III. had a general love to mankind, but he showed

Predestination
implies Repro-
bation.

of magnifying this common love. It might ob-
special love which God had from all eternity for H
Davenant made no scruple about reprobation.
spised to take shelter under the mere absence of
from the seventeenth Article. He saw and adm
predestination, if it means anything, carries re
with it. It may be called preterition, non-electi
decree negative, but, whatever be its name, it is a
as the other, and as independent of the foreseen
of men's actions. Reprobation, he says, is not a
sufficient grace, but a denial of such special gra
knows to be necessary to bring man to salvation.
trine of Arminius, that men are chosen for faith a
verance foreseen, and reprobated for the lack
Davenant pronounces 'false, vain, and disagreeing
notion of predestination rooted in the hearts of a
and orthodox Churchmen.' He explains Supralap
so as to annihilate the difference between it and
rianism, the Deity not being subject to that ord
which regulates the works of men. Priority and
rity in the eternal, immanent decrees of God an
imaginings of the weak reason of man. The
created for this end, solely that they might be
with Christ Jesus. From the general reasoning
have been fairly inferred that the non-elect we
that they might not be glorified with Jesus Chris
mented with the devil and his angels. Davenant
this does not follow, which leaves the alternative
there was no end in their creation, or that they de
end for which they were created.

The opposition to Calvinism connected itself
growth of the party which began with Bancroft.
of the Thirty-nine Articles had more affinity with
trine of Geneva than with that of the Prayer
Episcopacy. This was manifest in the Hooker co

Montagu, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, wrote a defence of the Church of England in reply to a tract called 'A Gagger for the new Gospel.*' Among the charges brought against Protestants, the 'Gagger' said they teach that, by the fall of Adam, man lost his free-will, and that faith, once possessed, can never be lost. Montagu denied that these were doctrines of the Church of England. The latter he admitted to be the private opinion of many Churchmen, but not the doctrine of the Church. The former, he said, was a question more befitting the schools than the popular ear. This was denied, not merely by Montagu's Roman Catholic adversaries, but by members of the Church of England. He was called an Arminian. He protested that he knew nothing of Arminius. 'I am not,' he said, 'nor would be accounted willingly Arminian, Calvinist, or Lutheran (names of division), but a Christian. For my faith was never taught by the doctrine of men.' Words like these are easily said. They only serve to evade what should at once be admitted. Montagu held the doctrines of Arminius. Whether or not these were in harmony with the Scriptures, the opinions, practices, traditions, and consent of the ancient Church, was a further question. Montagu believed that they were. He called his next book 'Appello Cæsarem, or a just Appeal from two unjust Informers.' It was dedicated to King Charles, who was to decide whether the new Arminianism or the old Calvinism was the doctrine of the Church of England. The divines who flourished under Elizabeth would have scouted the heresy, and burned the heretic. Montagu argued concerning the fall of Peter that, if it really was a *fall*, he fell totally and finally. A fall can only mean that a man has lost that footing by which he can hold himself fast. We must either, he says, allow that Peter fell, or take the Roman Catholic view, that Peter's faith did not fail. But evidently Peter's faith did fail, and so Peter fell. Now, if the faith which justifies be lost, justification, which is an act consequent on faith, may also be lost. And this agrees with Article XVI which says that the regenerate

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CHAP. III. again;' but it does not say that they certainly
 again. He quoted from the Homily 'Of falling a
 God,' where it is distinctly said that those who
 shall no longer be governed by God's Holy Sp
 proved it, moreover, from experience. Children,
 are by baptism put into a state of grace and
 Now, we all see that many baptized children lead
 life, and so fall away from God.

Bishop Carle-
 ton opposes
 Arminianism.

Carleton, whom King James had sent to the
 Dort, was now Bishop of Chichester. It grieved
 man to see the triumph of the heresies which it
 the work of his life to oppose, and for opposing
 had risen to be a ruler in the Church. He wrote
 mination' of the 'Appello Cæsarem,' which he also
 to King Charles. He told the King that there were
 gers which had of late assailed the kingdom. Th
 the plague and the Pelagian heresy; the one a de
 bodies, the other of souls. He says that Montagu
 bled the Church with strange doctrines concernin
 tination. He had tried to bring in a *respective d*
 he had taught that a man may fall away from gra
 and finally. The latter was contrary to the expr
 of Augustine, who says, 'They that are called and
 according to God's purpose cannot fall away.'
 maintained his doctrines to be those of the Church
 land. This Carleton denied, asserting that the En
 formers, in compiling the Articles, were assisted
 Martyr and Martin Bucer, with whose doctrines th
 He noticed that, though the Puritans were disquie
 the discipline of the Church, they had no quarrel
 doctrines. He gave an account of Baro, Barrett, a
 who had broached Arminianism in England, showing
 Montagu now advocated had been systematically co
 and had against it the universal consent of th
 of the English Church. Montagu called the fram
 Lambeth Articles, Puritans. The application of t

All doctrinal
 Calvinists are
 now called
 Puritans.

that was coming upon the Church. Davenant, as we have seen, merged Supralapsarianism into Sublapsarianism, maintaining that with God no opposition between them was possible. Carleton retained the old distinction. Augustine he called a Sublapsarian. God saw the human race as a mass of corruption. He predestinated that some should be saved, and the others left in their misery. This decree was irrespective of any good foreseen in the predestined. The rest were passed by. It did not please God to have mercy upon them. This, Carleton says, is not only the doctrine of Augustine, but the ancient Catholic doctrine of the Church. Before Augustine's time, it had not come into dispute. Montagu said that St. Peter was not called, saved, and glorified, without regard to his faith, obedience, and repentance. Carleton answered that Peter was *called* without respect to these things, but not saved and glorified without regard to them. If a man were *called* in respect of his faith, obedience, and repentance, then grace would be given according to merit. Pelagius, Carleton says, taught that there was somewhat in nature which caused God to confer grace. Montagu corrected this, saying that God gave grace in respect of grace, which, as Augustine said of the Pelagians, was enforcing grace in words, but in reality denying it. The heresy is traced from the Pelagians to the Schoolmen, John Scotus expressly teaching that charity and repentance may be had *ex puris naturalibus*. Carleton discusses at length the question of falling from grace. He says it is possible to lose such grace as ordinarily comes by hearing the Gospel, which is called the word of grace. But the grace which proceeds from predestination can never be lost. Peter fell into great sin, but that does not involve a failure of faith. The Homily which Montagu quoted, Carleton explains as referring only to the wicked that go from God in the sense of never having come to Him. Article XVI. refers to the Pharisaic pride of the Cathari, or Perfectionists. It declares that we may fall into sin, may depart from grace: yet the benefit of repentance is not to be denied

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CHAP. III.

Augustine on
sacramental
justification.

to those who thus fall. This article was not, said, challenged at the Hampton Court Conference. The sides were agreed that the doctrine it taught was false. Overall denied expressly that a man could fall finally.* To Montagu's explanation of grace from election in baptism, Carleton answers that if he pleased to observe the judgment of the ancient Fathers, he might not have been troubled with such novelties. St. Augustine might easily have satisfied him. Augustine makes a difference between those that are regenerate and those that are only *sacramento tenus* (sacramentally), and those that are regenerated and justified according to God's election. Ishmael received the sacrament of circumcision, as a seal of the righteousness of faith. The sacrament is good in itself, but it is a seal of the righteousness of faith, not a seal in all that receive it. For many receive the sacrament which have not the thing signified. Ishmael and Isaac were both circumcised, but Ishmael was born according to the flesh, and Isaac according to the Spirit. He that was born according to the flesh was justified only *sacramentaliter*, but he that was born according to the Spirit was justified freely. St. Augustine says, 'Though the sacraments are common to all, yet grace is not common to all. They are baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Yea that grace whereof these sacraments, whereby the members of the body of Christ are regenerate with their Head, is not common to all.' Carleton, following Augustine, explains that, though the sacrament is good in itself, yet that which receives baptism the children of God, regenerate and justified, yet it is 'only a speech of the Church.' The sacrament is good in itself, but it is only a speech of the Church. They are regenerated sacramentally, but it is only a speech of the Church. It lives that we can know if they are regenerate and justified according to God's eternal election.

* Bishop Carleton here refers to what was said by Overall at the Hampton Court Conference about falling from grace. He did not say that a justified man might fall finally, but out that there were Anabaptists at the Hampton Court Conference. Overall was one. A difference of opinion on Overall's opinions on falling from grace will be found in Des

In 1625 a Conference was held at York House, by the Duke of Buckingham, concerning Montagu's books. This Conference was called at the solicitation of Lord Warwick and Lord Say. They were moved to solicit it by the representations of Thomas Morton, Bishop of Lichfield, who charged Montagu with contradicting the plain teaching of the XXXIX. Articles. The account which we have of this Conference was written by Bishop Cosin, who was a partisan on Montagu's side, and who represents the Duke of Buckingham as rebuking Bishop Morton for making charges that had no real foundation. Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White, then Dean of Carlisle, with Dr. Cosin, were also members of the Conference.

The substance of the charges was, that Montagu had maintained (1) that the Turk and not the Pope was Antichrist, (2) that General Councils neither have erred nor can err, (3) that justification consists in forgiveness of sins previously, and grace infused secondarily, (4) that we get heaven through our own deservings, (5) that the King is not the head of the Church, (6) and that the Church of Rome has not erred in matters of faith. To the first of these it was easily answered that the Church of England has never taught in any authoritative formulary that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist. The second was more difficult to explain, for Art. XXI. says that General Councils 'may err, and sometimes have erred.' Montagu's doctrine was that the first four General Councils were infallible, and that all Councils lawfully called and qualified as they were, would also be infallible. They did not err, because they decreed truth, which Bishop Morton reckoned to be a paralogism, equivalent to saying that Councils do not err when they do not err.* Montagu's words were that such Councils could not err 'in matters fundamental.' The words of the Article are 'in things pertaining to God,' which embraces more than 'matters fundamental.' Bishop Buckeridge added in expla-

* Peter Heylin maintained in an the last analysis the argument comes

CHAP. III.

nation of this, that the Council of Trent could scarcely have erred in 'fundamentals,' though it erred in 'things pertaining to God.' As to justification, satisfied Bishop Morton by saying that it was by the Church as the instrument, and by God as the cause. In our controversies with the Church of Rome on good works, it was admitted that 'deservings' was a divisive word, but Montagu said that this referred to the last day, when all men would be rewarded according to their works. The explanation of denying the efficacy of the sacraments was, that though the King have the supremacy under God 'over all persons in all causes,' yet he has not the 'power of the keys.' He cannot excommunicate the Church of Rome, Montagu's friends said, but only in 'matters of faith,' but not in 'the foundation of faith.' This was really the expression which Montagu had used.

Under James and Charles the great controversy with the Church of Rome about transubstantiation still continued. That party whose origin dates from Bancroft had taken new ground, and had therefore to meet objections. Roman doctors directed against their new claims. The reformers were content that the Church should maintain the simple maintenance of the doctrines clearly taught in the Scriptures. Now, it was said that a succession of bishops was necessary to constitute a Church. Those who maintained this position for the Church of England said that the Church of Rome, had also to maintain, in addition to this, with this idea of a Church, that we have a proper altar, proper altars, and a proper priesthood. These were understood to be the furniture of a divinely-appointed Church. How we can have these without transubstantiation was the problem to be solved. If we have a sacrifice, what is it that we have to offer? When Bishop Montagu preached Bishop Andrewes' funeral sermon, he said that, in the Christian Church, we have an extension on which we offer Christ. The statement to which this was an answer to the question. But the explanation

The real presence in the Eucharist.

explained the 'altar' mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews as the cross of Christ. But we have an altar on which we commemorate this sacrifice of Christ, and on it we offer Christ in His members,—that is ourselves. We offer, not the material, but the mystical, body of Christ. The doctors of the Church of Rome regarded this as trifling with the argument. Buckeridge did not maintain a real presence of Christ's body in any proper sense. He called the Eucharist a commemoration of the true sacrifice, and he quoted Augustine and Aquinas as saying that only in this sense could the Eucharist be called a sacrifice at all.

The stone altars were taken down in all the churches in England at the Reformation, and tables made of wood substituted for them. The word 'altar' was dropped from the Prayer Book in 1552. These things implied that a sacrifice, as the Church of Rome understood a sacrifice, was no longer to be offered in the Church of England. This was an argument against altars not easily answered; yet it was maintained that we have an altar, a sacrifice, and a priesthood, though different from those of the Church of Rome.

In 1637, about four years after Laud had been elevated to the primacy, the Vicar of Grantham, following probably the example of some other vicars, removed the communion table from the place where it had previously stood, in the choir, to what he called the altar-place. The vicar was new; he had just come from college, and was eager to introduce the teaching and the practices of his party. He 'turned out the two *painful* ministers that were salaried by the town,' and made changes in the church which alarmed the parishioners. The churchwarden, who was also an alderman of the town, caused the communion table to be put back into its place. This was the beginning of a warfare between the vicar and the people. He told them that he did not care what they did with 'the old tresle;' he would build an altar of stone at his own charge, and fix it in the altar-place. Grantham was in the diocese of Lincoln. The bishop was the Lord Keeper Williams. He immediately

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CHAP. III. such an altar as he intended, his own discretion
 'the only holocaust to be sacrificed thereon.'
 had subscribed to the Articles of the Church
 which declare the oblation offered by the Church
 to be a *blasphemous fable* and a *dangerous*
 bishop also reminded the vicar of the words of
 'that we, in the Church of England, ought to take
 our communion be made a sacrifice.' The Canon
 appoint that the churchwardens, not the vicar,
 provide for the communion; and they are not to
 altar, but a 'fair joined table.' According to
 Injunctions of 1559, the altars were removed
 tables placed in their stead in most, if not all, churches
 in England. Vicars were never charged to see this done
 but, in the first years of Elizabeth, they were a
 others to pull them down. The vicar asked that he
 place the table altar-wise. The bishop said that
 he meant in the chancel, where in former times
 stood, there could be no objection, provided that
 open, and mounted up by steps; which at Grant
 was not the case. If by altar-wise the vicar meant
 table should stand along close by the wall, as it
 men's chapels, then the bishop said that tables
 so placed in country churches. Queen Elizabeth's
 sioners, by their orders in 1561, directed that
 should stand, not where the altar stood, but where
 of the altar formerly stood. The bishop further
 his opinion, that it was intended by the Reformers
 table should stand with one end towards the east
 that the minister might stand at the north side.
 grounded on the principle that a table has not
 but, being oblong, has two sides and two ends.
 table stands altar-wise, as it does now, the minister
 at the north end, while the rubric prescribes the

The Vicar of
 Grantham
 wishes the
 Communion
 Table placed
 altar-wise.

It was only as to the parish churches that the
 difference about the placing of the communion

Williams did not admit that these were precedents for parish churches. He explained how it may have been that there were no changes at the Reformation in cathedrals and private chapels. He thought it possible that even the altars in some of these may have remained, or, at least, that tables corresponding to the altars in size and shape had been substituted, that the coverings and ornaments of the old altars might still be used. The altars stood a year or two in King Edward's time, and the Queen's Commissioners of 1559 were content that those still standing should remain as they were, but the sacrifice being abolished, they were no more altars. In 1552 the name 'altar' in the Liturgy was changed for 'the Lord's Board.' Christ, as Archbishop Cranmer remarked, instituted the Sacrament upon a table, not upon an altar. The name table was in the Church, Williams said, two hundred years before the name altar. To see this proved out of St. Paul, Origen, and Arnobius, he recommended the vicar to read Jewel against Harding. The name altar, he conjectured, might have crept into the Christian Church by a kind of complying with the Jews, or because of the oblations laid on the table for the clergy or the poor. The bishop directed that at Grantham church the table was to stand *table-wise*. He also directed that, though it may stand in the higher part of the church, it is not to be fixed there. The Rubric says it 'shall stand in the body of the church or chancel, where morning prayer and evening prayer is appointed to be read.' If, therefore, these are read in the body of the church, as in most country churches, then the body of the church is the canonical place for the table. It should be moved, when the communion is celebrated, to such place as the minister may be most distinctly heard by the communicants, and of this the people, not the minister, are to be the judges. How long communion tables stood in the middle of the churches, the vicar is directed also to find in Jewel, who shows it out of Eusebius, Augustine, and Durandus.

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An answer to Bishop Williams's Letter to the Vicar of

CHAP. III.

The Lord's
Supper called
'the sacra-
ment of the
altar' by the
Reformers.

which, used in this sense, seemed a satire on the England for having the altars removed. But he did not advocate either sacrifices or altars, as understood in the Church of Rome. The vicar, he did not wish an altar of that kind which is 'raised by them who offer the sacrifice of masses for the remission of sins. In that case the vicar would not only have offered the sacrifice, but would have ceased to be a worthy son of the Church of England. But though the Council of XXXI. condemns the sacrifice of the Mass in the Church of Rome, it does not, says Heylin, condemn the communicative sacrifice which we of the Church of England offer in the perpetual memory of Christ's precious death. Venerable Bede Homily warns us of the memory of the Lord's Supper, not to make a sacrifice, the meaning is such a sacrifice as the Council of XXXI. condemns. There is no reason, Heylin says, for suspecting that the Vicar of Grantham intended to offer the Mass. But as the Lord's Supper is called a table, so may the communion table be called an altar. John Lambert, Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley, with other martyrs and Reformers, are quoted as calling the Lord's Supper 'the sacrament of the altar.' Heylin turns this into an elaborate argument to prove that the table must stand close to the wall, altar-wise. The ground of the argument is, that as the Queen's Injunctions ordered the table to stand where once the altar stood, the table must occupy precisely the same area that was occupied by the altar. In these Injunctions alongside of the Articles of Amendment of 1565, which direct that the Ten Commandments should be inscribed on the east wall over the Lord's Supper, he concludes that the table was meant to stand close to the wall, steps, under the Commandments, and, therefore, altar-wise. Table and altar he maintained to be the same thing. The table is an altar, not only in regard of the sacrifice, but also of the communion. In the Jewish temple there were altars not for sacrifice only, but also for the people to eat of the sacrifice. For encouragement to the

Majesty, who, in 1633, had passed a decree in Council that the metropolitans, bishops, and their ordinaries should so place the tables in all churches committed to their care.

The Bishop of Lincoln replied to Heylin, but without giving his name. He called his treatise 'The Holy Table, Name and Thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament than that of an Altar.' He described the treatise as having been written long ago by a minister of Lincolnshire in answer to Dr. Coal, 'a judicious Divine of Q. Mary's days.' He refused to admit the royal chapel as a precedent for parish churches. That wise princess, Elizabeth, had for a time used her sister's seal, and on the same principle she kept her ceremonies till others should be provided. She had to make her worship appear to the foreign princes as if she was not 'so far esloigned from the Catholic religion as was bruited abroad.' Miles Huggard, a Roman Catholic writer, speaking of the table in King Edward's time, says, at first 'they placed it aloft where the altar stood, then must it be set free from the wall that one might go between, the ministers being in contention on which part to turn their faces either towards the west, the north, or south.' At last it was determined that the minister was to stand on the north side of the table. Now, the question to be settled is—north side or north end? The Latin for north side is *pars septentrionalis*, which may mean either north side or north end. The bishop maintained that altars as well as tables have two sides only. Among other authorities he quoted Gregory XIII., who speaks in his Pontifical of the two sides of the altar.

As to the King's decree in Council, the bishop showed that the placing of the tables was left to the decision of the ordinary; and as to the martyrs and Reformers who had spoken of 'the sacrament of the altar,' he answered that they used the current language of their time. Indeed, after the words 'sacrament of the altar,' they frequently added 'as they call it.' Bishop Ridley told the examiners that the Supper of the Lord was not at any time better administered,

CHAP. III. the Scriptures. Heylin said that the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice because it is the memory of a sacrifice. Bishop Williams answered, 'we must take heed of words and distinctions that may bring us back again to old errors reformed in the Church.' A sacrifice *commemorative* cannot be a *proper* sacrifice, and therefore from it we cannot have a proper altar. It is an established principle with the Roman Catholics that a stone altar is not needed for sacrifice or praise. These are sacrifices which do not require a proper altar. The holy table, according to the Bishop of Lincoln, was not copied from the square altar of the Temple, but from the long table of the shewbread; the Act of Council for changing the altars into tables expressly mentioned that the form of a table would remove the simple from the superstitious opinions of the Popish Mass.' Heylin said that the order of Council for moving the altars was sent only to Bishop Ridley. In the Act read as given in Fox's 'Book of Martyrs,' the word was explained by Williams that Fox had access only to a copy sent to Ridley, which, by the substitution of a comma for a comma, seemed as if the order had been sent only to Ridley. Heylin said that the word altar was omitted from the Prayer Book of 1552 to please Calvin. To which Williams answered that Calvin himself had used as a communion table a marble altar, which in former times had served for the sacrifice of the Mass. When the Fathers used the word altar they only used it metaphorically, meaning table. Irenæus says 'that every sanctified man that makes a lively, holy, and well-pleasing sacrifice, offering alms and the calver of his lips to Almighty God is a priest serving at the altar.' Chrysostom says also that David in this kind was a proper priest. Cyprian explains the altar as the offerings or contributions made for religious objects. Ignatius calls the Church the altar. This holy table, or altar as it was improperly called, was placed generally in the middle of the church. In Chrysostom's Liturgy it is said that 'the deacons bring the holy table in all the compass thereof.' Synesius

Tables or
altars in the
primitive
Church.

says truly that Christians in the beginning placed their altars indifferently,—east, west, north, or south. To suppose God more propitious in one part of the world than in another was pronounced a relic of Paganism. It is well said by Minutius Felix that ‘all things are full of God.’

Heylin wrote ‘*Antidotum Lincolnense*, or an Answer to He a Book entitled the Holy Table, Name and Thing.’ The admission made by Williams that some altars were allowed to remain at the Reformation was the ground on which Heylin rested his first argument. As to these altars, there could be no question, he said, but the north side meant the north end.* The altars, it is admitted, became tables. The Jewish sacrifices, Heylin said, were sacrifices in figure. They prefigured Christ. Our sacrifice is in memory of Christ. The Jewish sacrifices were taken away by Christ, but ours was established. Being a sacrifice, it implies that we have priests and altars. The difference between our sacrifice and that of the Jews is, that theirs was a bloody sacrifice, ours is unbloody. Their priesthood was of the order of Aaron, ours is after the order of Melchisedec. Speaking to His Apostles as laymen, Christ said, *Eat, drink*; but speaking to them as priests, He said, *Do this*. This interpretation of these words had been rejected hitherto in the Church of England. But Heylin did not understand by *Do this*, what the Roman doctors understood. To them it is a command to make out of bread the body of Christ. To Heylin it only meant ‘consecrate.’ This is the commission of priests, and this, he said, was the extent of the commission as understood by the old Fathers and the great divines of the Church of England. Irenæus tells us that there were sacrifices in the Jewish Church, and that there are now sacrifices in the Christian Church; but in the Christian Church they are only eucharistic; sacrifices of gratitude and thanksgiving. Eusebius says, ‘Christ is the propitiatory sacrifice for all our sins,’ and He appointed us to offer daily unto God the commemoration of His one offering. Of any expiatory sacrifice besides that which was made on the cross, Heylin says, the Fathers knew nothing. Richer

CHAP. III. transubstantiation, and we will have no difference about the sacrifice. The memory of a sacrifice we acknowledge willingly, and grant the name of sacrifice to have frequent with the Fathers.' The same bishop says the Eucharist is fitly called a sacrifice, so the communion table is fitly called an altar.

Dr. Pocklington.

The cause of the Vicar of Grantham was taken up by Pocklington, D.D. He wrote 'Altare Christianum Dead Vicar's Plea, wherein the Vicar of Grantham dead, yet speaketh and pleadeth out of antiquity him that hath broken down his altar.' This was a new edition of a treatise which Dr. Pocklington had written some time before. It was now corrected and enlarged to refute the Bishop of Lincoln. The argument was anything that had ever entered into the head of Henry Heylin. Dr. Pocklington settled the matter of altars once, by saying that the Christian Church existed under the old dispensation, and who could deny that there were altars then? Does not Christ make mention of a Christian altar when He says, 'If thou bring thy gift to the altar' does not St. Paul speak of altars, where he says, 'to wait on the altar live by the altar'? Damasus, in his decretals, mentions bishops and martyrs who spoke of altars. This was in the year one hundred and fifty-eight, yet, there is no mention of communion tables. St. Basil says, 'The Supper of the Lord is offered on an altar.' Ambrose exorts us to offer gifts at the altar of God. The Fathers and other Fathers do the same. We are one Church with the Apostles and the Fathers. 'Miserable,' says Pocklington, 'were we, if he that now sitteth Archbishop of Canterbury could not derive his succession from St. Augustine from St. Gregory, and St. Gregory from St. Peter.' Unlearned either in the ways of the Church or the world, Dr. Pocklington did not go back for the succession to the British Church before Augustine. He was content to have his altar direct from the Church of Rome.

Pleads for altars.

that the Lord's table or altar was to stand as it had done in times past. The Article which condemns the Mass in the Church of Rome, does not, he says, condemn the sacrifice, 'representative, rememorative, and spiritual.' Bishop Montagu, reiterating the words of Bishop Morton, says, that he believes 'no such sacrifice of the altar as the Church of Rome doth.' The 'sacrifices of Masses' were 'blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits,' because it was commonly believed that they were 'propitiatory, external, visible, true, and proper sacrifices for the quick and the dead.'*

In 1641, four years after the troubles of the Vicar of Grantham, George Hakewill, Archdeacon of Surrey, wrote 'A Archdeacon
Hakewill Dissertation, with Dr. Heylin, touching the Pretended Sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist.' Hakewill said that Heylin was the first man, belonging to any of the Reformed Churches, that had taught this doctrine. It was contrary to the teaching of all the Reformers, both English and foreign. But it was possible, he said, that he had not quite understood what Heylin meant. He wished that Heylin had defined sacrifice, and then there might have been some hope of an agreement, or at least of both sides understanding each other. He wished also to know how that could be called a sacrifice which was only commemorative or representative of a sacrifice. Augustine says that the true sacrifice is inward in the heart, and that it is only improperly that any outward offering is called a sacrifice. Bellarmine says, that for a true sacrifice, it is necessary that that which is offered be manifestly destroyed. Dr. Field also agrees that to present anything to God as a proper sacrifice, it must be consumed. If this definition is to be admitted, then, in the Eucharist, either the bread and wine are consumed by the change of the substance, which is transubstantiation, or they are consumed by the communicants. In the one case we have the doctrine of the Church of Rome. In the other, the people are sacrificers as well as the priest, for they eat the bread and drink the wine. Bellarmine agrees with us so

CHAP. III. far, that the Supper is a sacrifice commemorative.

The Eucharist an improper sacrifice.

Hoc facite.

says this is not a sufficient reason for calling it a proper. To be this, it must be more than commemorative. Hakewill says that we acknowledge the Jewish sacrifices have been properly called sacrifices. They were not figurative of Christ, but they had in themselves the elements which made them properly sacrificial. Could the same be shown for the Eucharist, the controversy would be at an end. Aquinas and the Master of the Sentences both held the Eucharist commemorative, and an improper sacrifice.

The Roman doctors have endeavoured to prove that they have authority to make a proper sacrifice, from the words *Hoc facite*. *Do this*; but Bishop Morton, Hakewill says, has proved how sandy is the foundation. Bishop Jewell says, 'Neither did Christ, by the words *Do this in remembrance of me*, erect any new succession of sacrificers to offer continually unto His Father, nor ever did any ancient Fathers so expound it. Christ's meaning is clear from the words that follow, for He saith not only *Do this*, but addeth also, *in my remembrance*; which doing pertains not only to the Apostles and their successors, but to the whole congregation,—*As often as ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death till He come*. Yet Hakewill says, if we grant that Dr. Heylin's interpretation of *Do this* is the right one, we have still to be proved that Christ Himself did then offer a sacrifice properly so called. He consecrated bread and wine to sacramental use. He left the power of consecration to His Apostles and their successors, but He neither made a sacrifice Himself nor did He commission His followers to make a sacrifice in memory of Him. In the prayer before the Communion Service we ask God to 'accept our sacrifice.' But this is said by the people as well as by the minister, and either the sacrifice is only improperly so called, or the priest and people unitedly offer a sacrifice *proper*. The

'We have an altar' that is

'We have an altar,' is explained by Aquinas, that al

and of several doctors, as Hooker, Field, Crakanthorp, Perkins, and Nowell. Hooker says, 'The Fathers of the Church, with like security of speech, call usually the ministry of the Gospel, priesthood, in regard to that which the Gospel hath proportionable to ancient sacrifices, namely, the communion of the body and blood of Christ, *although it have properly now no sacrifice*. As for people when they hear the name, it draweth no more their minds to any cogitation of sacrifice than the name of senator or alderman causeth them to think of old age.'

The question of altars, priests, and sacrifices engaged the thoughts of the 'pious and profoundly learned Joseph Mede' in his retirement at Cambridge. He has left us a sermon on Mal. i. 11, 'My name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering.' Mede says that this is a prophecy of the sacrifice in the Christian Church, but in what that sacrifice consists 'is beyond belief obscure, intricate, and perplexed.' In the ancient Fathers there is frequent mention of the *unbloody sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist*. By sacrifice the ancient Church understood the whole action and solemn service of the assembled congregation, of which the Eucharist was the principal part. It was, as it were, the pearl or jewel of that ring. It had two objects, one of which was the offering of prayer and praise, the other, the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice, whereby prayer and praise were accepted. The incense spoken of in the text is the prayers of the saints. The pure offering is the bread, which is accompanied by the wine as the drink-offering. The Jews offered polluted bread, but this is pure, because of Him whom it commemorates. According to the usage of the ancient Fathers, this commemoration is called a sacrifice, but it is only commemorative. Christ's body was offered once for all. It is an oblation because it is something truly presented to God. It is not *θυσία*, a slaughter-offering. We slay nothing, and therefore it is

CHAP. III. Mede explains sacrifice in another sense. He calls the Eucharist a sign or seal of a covenant, a sacred feast, wherein God spiritually entertains man at His own table. Tried by the meaning ascribed to sacrifices by the Jews, and the meaning which we ascribe to the sacrifice of Christ, it is not called a sacrifice improperly, but under this other definition the Eucharist is properly a sacrifice. It is a commemoration of Christ's death, not only for ourselves, but a putting of God in mind of the sacrifice of His Son. In another place Mede explains the words used by the Fathers. The Holy Table was generally called *σπήριον*. This is to be distinguished from another word for altar, *βωμὸς*, which was a pedestal or support for an idol. In Maccabees we read that the ministers of Antiochus Epiphanes sacrificed upon the *βωμὸς*, while the Jews sacrificed upon the *θυσιαστήριον*.† The *θυσιαστήρια* were altars for sacrifice to the true God; the *βωμοὶ* were the altars of the Gentiles. The Latin Fathers sometimes made a similar distinction, calling the Church altar *altare*, while the Jewish altar was *ara*. In the Vulgate *ara* is never used for church altar. In a sermon, Mede makes some correcting distinctions as to the names of ministers, whom he divides into two orders, but three degrees. *Sacerdos*, the Latin word for priest, is a word to which, he says, we have no equivalent in English. Our word priest is simply *priest*. In the old dispensation *priest* was priest, but the word *minister* nothing more than minister. Etymologically it is the same as deacon. 'We strive,' Mede says, 'to distinguish between the old and the new priests, and in avoiding Scylla to avoid Charybdis. We call the ministers of the Gospel by the name of those of the old law, *ministers*; and those of the old law by the name of the new, *priests*, or presbyters.'

The Christian altar and the Pagan.

Archbishop Laud.

Archbishop Laud further developed Bancroft's doctrine of Episcopacy, uniting with it the doctrines of Atonement and the new form of the real presence in the Eucharist. There is not much in Laud's writings on the points

vinism. He promoted his cause by favouring those who were anti-Calvinistic, and by passing injunctions forbidding the clergy to preach on subjects connected with predestination. Calvinism was the doctrine of the Church, and Laud forbade the preaching of it. The works of the martyr Archbishop are chiefly of value to us as marking out his position in relation to the Church of Rome. The Church of England hitherto had made common cause with the other Reformed Churches against Rome; but now the Church of England was defended on principles not applicable to the other Reformed Churches. Laud had not retrograded in the doctrine of king-worship. He had not progressed, because it was impossible to surpass his Calvinistic predecessors. In spite of his lofty views of the calling of the Church's officers, the King was to him, as to Bishop Andrewes, 'a little god.' In the Psalms, the old divines, whether Puritan or Conformist, saw both Christ and David portrayed under the same words. Laud, improving on this acknowledged principle of psalteric exegesis, found God and the King under the same actions. And the reason of this is, that the King is God's lieutenant upon earth, and what is his act by execution is God's by a divine decree. The power of the King is, he said, God's power, *in* him as well as over him.

Laud had to justify the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome. A schism had been caused, and one of the parties must be schismatics. Which side is chargeable with the sin of schism? Laud answers, the Church of Rome, in virtue of its claim to infallibility. In the 'Conference with Fisher the Jesuit,' the only work of Laud's which really does justice to his learning and ability, he refutes the Papal claims, and justifies the English Reformation. He examines the supposed testimonies of Cyprian, Jerome, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril, and other Fathers, to the infallibility of Rome, and finds them wanting in validity. He does not claim infallibility for the universal or Catholic Church, any more than he admits it for the Church

Laud
Fisher
Jesuit

CHAP. III.

How do we
know the
Scriptures to
be divine?

The Spirit's
testimony to
the Scriptures.

libly. This seems to be the same as what Monist says, that when General Councils do not err, they are infallible.

The ordinary principle of Protestantism was to rest on the Scriptures. The Roman Catholic asked for an authority we know the Scriptures to be divine. He answered his own question, that it was only through the Church, for without an infallible authority we do not know that the Scriptures are divine. Laud agreed in this, that we must have a sufficient, infallible, divine proof that the Scriptures are divine. He agreed, also, that such an authority might be properly called the word of God, and that it might be either written or unwritten. He endorsed the teaching of Bellarmine, that it is God uttering or revealing truth through the Church which makes the word of God. Before the word was written,—that is, before it was Scripture,—it was the word of God. But this does not, Laud says, authorize us to add all the unwritten traditions of the Church of Rome to the word. There were words unwritten, but never added over to the Church, as the words of Jesus during his days preceding the Ascension. How we are to know that the Scriptures to be the word of God is discussed at length. Laud does not admit that this can be known sufficiently by the internal light of Scripture, nor by the revelations made to individuals. Such revelations by the Holy Spirit are not promised. Yet there is a sense in which the Holy Spirit assures us of the truth of Scripture. This is included in what is properly called faith, which is a gift in man. It is described as an infused habit in which whereof the soul is merely the recipient. Laud claims that reason should be allowed to come in and prove what is true. Without grace, reason can never see the way to heaven. We cannot believe the book in which God hath written the word of God. God puts grace into reasonable men as a spirit of water, to make reason see what by nature it cannot see. Men often ask why they should believe, but when they do believe, Laud says, faith grows stronger than either reason or grace. This is the testimony of the Holy Spirit.

the word of God, but they must be taken together. No one alone is sufficient. The first is the tradition of the present Church; but this is not absolutely divine. The second is the light which is in the Scripture; but this is not enough. It does not bear sufficient witness of itself. The third is the testimony of the Holy Ghost. This is infallible, but not of much value here, where the question is not how or by what means we believe, but how the Scriptures may be proposed as a credible object for belief. The fourth is reason, which no man expects should prove the Scriptures divine. It is enough if reason can disprove what other men conceive against it. All these ways being, Laud says, insufficient, we must find another, or see what can be wrought out of them.

He considers first the *tradition of the Church*. But what Church? As to the primitive Christian Church, and the Apostles who had immediate revelations from heaven, there can be no question but it is divine. This tradition the Church of England has always received, and its uniform testimony has been that the books of Scripture are the written word of God. It was this primitive inspired Church to which Augustine referred when he said, 'I would not believe the gospel, unless the authority of the Church moved me.' Tradition without and grace within are described as helps whereby the divine light of the Scriptures is made to shine. They help a man to see that light. The natural vision sees some light of moral counsel and instruction in the Scriptures, but it takes that glorious lustre for candlelight. But the tradition of the Church and God's grace clear the understanding, and then the soul hears plainly, in the Scriptures, the voice of God. This is truly faith. We never *know* the Scriptures to be the word of God, but we believe they are. That the Apostles were divinely inspired depends merely on their own testimony. Miracles do not prove much, for miracles are sometimes counterfeit, and even true ones are not always infallible marks of true doc- Tradition
the Church

CHAP. III. Him who made it. If revelation can be proved to
 ————— sary, Laud undertakes to prove that it has been gi

The inspira-
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 Church.

The difference concerning the Church, between
 Fisher, seems to be, that while Fisher claimed an
 infallible inspiration in the Church, Laud held that
 longed only to the Apostles' times. Their succe
 deed, had inspiration and spiritual guidance, but
 lible. Both of them confined the inspiration to the
 the Church. It only reached the laity by mean
 clergy. Had the Church been infallible, the Re
 could not have been justified, for no Reformation w
 been needed. But it was only too evident that Re
 was needed. And therefore the Church of Eng
 justified in the Reformation.

Laud a Puri-
 tan reversed.

Whitgift and Hooker had opposed the Puritans
 enemies of order. But Laud was in everything
 reversed. He could see nothing as they saw it.
 not even agree with them as to the shape of th
 head. Martin Bucer used to say that he did not k
 he should wear a 'square cap,' since nature had
 head round. Laud said it was a sin for people to m
 heads round since God had made them square. M
 it was expressly commanded in Leviticus, 'Thou
 make round the corners of thy head.'

Archbishop
 Ussher.

Besides Bishop Williams, Laud had another opp
 the Primate of the Irish Church. Archbishop Us
 not regard the Presbyterian minister as unordai
 he thought it desirable to restore the Apostolic
 bishops, acting with their presbyteries. Ordin
 presbyteries might be schismatical, but it was
 by circumstances. He asserted the divine mo
 the Sabbath or seventh day's rest. It was
 commanded in Scripture, but we have God's
 for resting, and we are instructed in one of th
 lies,* that God has expressly charged all men to
 the Sabbath day and devote that day to His

Ussher was a Calvinist. He denied the universality of redemption. A price was paid to the Father by the Son sufficient to atone for the sins of all men, but it is available only for the elect, to whom saving grace is given. He noticed the progress of what he reckoned an essentially new doctrine in the Church of England,—the belief of a real presence in the Eucharist. It had crept in unconsciously under cover of the old words. Bishop Andrewes said to Bellarmine that we believe a real presence as much as the Church of Rome, but we determine nothing concerning the manner of it. Ussher said that the Church of England has determined the manner of it. It says, 'That Christ's body is received only after a spiritual and heavenly manner,' which is intended expressly to exclude the Roman Catholic doctrine of a presence of the actual body.

During the reign of Charles, the bishop question became more urgent than ever. The civil power was not merely, as in the days of Elizabeth, protecting itself; it protected also the divine claim of the episcopate. The bishops in return defended the arbitrary government of the king. Moderate men were alienated from the Episcopal side, and the more zealous Puritans were exasperated. They had frequently written with violence, and as frequently had severe chastisement been administered to them. But violence in writing and severity in punishing reached their climax now. Dr. Leighton, a Scotch minister, wrote 'An appeal to Parliament,' which he called 'Sion's Plea against Prelacy.' This was an intemperate book. Its arguments were those of the Presbyterian party, not strong in themselves, yet deriving strength from the manifold evils unreformed in the Church. Facing the title-page was a picture of an old castle in ruins. From the walls of this castle were bishops tumbling headlong towards the ground. Beneath were inscribed the words,—

'The tottering prelates, with their trumpery all,
Shall moulder down like elder from the wall.'

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CHAP. III.

State. But the State had taken possession of the Reformation, and now the bishops even dared to say that these keys had been committed to them, not by Christ but by Christ Himself. Leighton wondered at the audacity of their claim, after Episcopacy had been so rated in the Church as something derived from the will of the king. This new pretension involved a want of loyalty to the sovereign, and was opposed to the laws of the country. Christ had, indeed, established His government in His Church. This he proved by His arguments, the chief of which were derived from the Old Testament. If God remembered the bars of the Temple, it likely, Leighton argued, that 'He should forget the keys of His Church? that He would appoint the least person to be the master-builder, and forget the master-builders,—mention the names of the fathers, and pass by the great lights?' But the Church could not be complete without the bishops; they are but 'knobs in the body.' To continue them in the Church is to continue Christ out of His government.' The true policy was the *Discipline of Geneva*. To establish it the hierarchy must be renounced. The Lord has a controversy with the prelates because the prelates have usurped the place of Christ. The Parliament is asked to remove Ashtaroth, that God's judgment against us may cease, that the honour of the State may be redeemed, and that there may be 'a dashing of Babylon against the wall.'

Bishop Hall
and the Smectymnians.

The great controversy on Episcopacy, before the overthrow of both Church and King, was that between Bishop Hall and Smectymnuus. Hall was a Calvinist, yet a supporter of Laud, and an advocate for the *jus divinum* of the bishops. He was blind to the changes which were going on before his eyes. He denied the prevalence of Arminianism after the Church in many of her dignitaries had passed over to Calvinism. He upheld Laud's party, and yet he was one of those who introduced worshipping towards the east, bowing to the altar as 'addleheads' and 'Popish priests.' Between Laud and Hall there could have been no

Catholic Church, while protesting against the Church of CH. Rome; that is, belonging to the Catholic Church in virtue of Episcopacy in another sense than the non-Episcopal Churches belonged to it. Hall, in his tract, '*Roma Irreconciliabilis*,' 'No Peace with Rome,' maintains that the guilt of separation lay at the door of the Roman Catholics. The Church of Rome was a church 'miserably corrupted.' Without an entire reform of these corruptions, there could be no hope for the union of Christendom. They are in the pit, we are on high. They must ascend to our truth, we cannot descend to their errors. The Roman claim to infallibility annihilates, he said, every hope of reformation. We cannot be 'so foolish as to bolster up the great bridge-maker of the Tiber. His infallibility is written nowhere, unless, as Luther said, perhaps in Rome, at St. Peter's, upon some chimney with a coal.' They must come to us, for it is impossible that we can go to them. But the claim to infallibility is 'a fetter which binds them to their errors.'

The occasion of writing the treatise on the divine right of Episcopacy was when Graham, Bishop of Orkney, renounced his office, and claimed pardon from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for having ever accepted it. Hall calls this 'a foul deed,' and declares the penance such as the world never heard of. 'How weary,' he says, 'would I be of this rochet, if you can show me that Episcopacy is of any less than divine institution.' In another tract he defines what he means by *divine institution*: Jus di
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'We mean not an express law of God requiring it upon the absolute necessity of the being of a Church, what hindrances soever may interfere, but a divine institution warranting it and requiring it when it may be had.' The largeness of this definition might seem to neutralize the high claim for divinity. Its object is to leave a defence for the foreign Churches, but to take away every plea for the Church of Scotland. The latter obstinately refuses Episcopacy, the former are without it by circumstances which they did not create. The argument is general, but the pleading is special.

CHAP. III. retained its Episcopacy. Calvin used to say that he would yield even to Popish bishops as much authority as was necessary for the due ordering of the Church's government. Zanchy, and other Reformers, as well as Bozer at the Synod of Dort, spoke of the happy condition of the Church of England in having retained its bishops. The Scotch cannot plead that they have conformed to the pattern of the foreign Churches. Their reforms were done in a case of extremity, and are not, therefore, precedents for others. The mariner casts out his ballast in a storm. The roof of a house is taken off when the fire is on fire. The physician cuts off a limb to save a patient. These Churches were in danger of wreck, and were in danger of being consumed by Roman popery. But for the amputation, they would have died of the grene of superstition. The necessity of defence of the Churches was a serious difficulty to Bishop Hall. How could a Church exist at all without bishops, can we say that a divinely instituted Church could exist at all without bishops, can we say that they were necessary to the very essence and existence of the church?

We must gather Hall's meaning from his own words. He undertakes to prove—(1.) That Episcopacy is not only holy and lawful, but of divine appointment. (2.) That the Presbyterian government has no footing either in the nature or the practice of the Church in all ages, from the time to the present. The process by which the necessity of the institution of Episcopacy is proved is, by showing that the foundation was laid by Christ, and its superstructure completed by the Apostles. What the Apostles practised and recommended must be apostolic, and the further inference is, that what is apostolic is divine.

Apostolic
practice.

For a commentary upon apostolic practice, we must look to the practice of the universal Church in the times immediately succeeding those of the Apostles. It is not, however, for a moment to be supposed that the primitive Church would retain a more perfect form of government

ture, on which this new form of government was founded, should be more evident and unquestionable than that alleged for the form which was rejected. As for the Presbyterian claim, it is simple impiety to say that the Son of God should erect a form of government upon earth which was to lie hid for sixteen hundred years, and even then not be fully known. The Presbyterians, Hall says, are not agreed as to what officers and rulers are necessary for the polity of the Church. Cartwright proposed that every parish should be a Presbytery by itself. It was a question not determined whether the Church officers were to be three or four orders. Some denied the necessity of 'doctors,' leaving only pastors, lay elders, and deacons. Others objected altogether to presbyteries and synods, making every congregation a complete Church in itself. The last class were the Independents, who, as yet, were little more than discernible from the Presbyterians. Hall's hatred of this sect was unmeasured. For them, he said, 'no answer was fit but dark lodgings and hellebore.'

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It greatly weakened Hall's argument for Episcopacy that he was compelled to admit the promiscuous use of the names bishop, presbyter, and deacon in the New Testament writings. An evangelist was called an apostle, an apostle a bishop, and a bishop a presbyter, deacon, or minister. He had to lean on an antiquity which was younger than the apostolic age. Still it was antiquity, and for the persons with whom he was pleading it was something to be able to show what was the judgment of the foreign Reformers on the age succeeding that of the Apostles. Calvin's account of those times is, that the presbyters in every city chose one of their number for their bishop. He was, as it were, the consul in the senate. This illustration was not fortunate, as a consul was but an annual president. The negative position, that there was not equality among the ministers of the Church, was proved by the fact that Christ had sent forth two classes of preachers, the twelve Apostles and the seventy

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CHAP. III.

Timothy and
Titus bishops.

Others had the Holy Ghost, but the twelve could not. Philip was an Evangelist. He pres- wrought miracles. He converted and baptized the tans; but it was not till Peter and John prayed on their hands on them that they received the Holy Ghost. The place from which Judas fell was filled up by an election of one out of the seventy. Hall argues, that if the office of bishop had not been a higher office, there would have been no necessity for a new election by the direction of the Holy Spirit. The twelve Apostles were to sit on twelve thrones. These are these but, as Augustine says, the thrones of the Apostles when they sit in judgment, with the power of the keys to bind and to loose? Jerome's account of the origin of the distinction between bishop and presbyter is, that the Apostles, to avoid schism and division, found it necessary to ordain some eminent persons over the rest of the presbytery, and gave them authority to govern the Church. This suggestion of Hall confirms by the cases of Timothy and Titus. Timothy is charged by St. Paul to instruct the preachers in the doctrine they are to teach. He is to *charge* them to hold the sound doctrine. If he was only their equal, how could he exercise such authority over them? It is for superiors to charge, and for inferiors to obey. Timothy was to guard against the doctrines of the false teachers of Ephesus. He was to exercise and prove the deacons, and promote them if they were deserving to a higher degree. If St. Paul were long absent, Timothy was to learn how to behave in the house of God, which is the pillar and ground of the truth. This, Hall said, could not be a private conference. It must have been a diocesan church. He was to exhort his brethren, that is, the presbyters, in remembrance of the dangers foretold to be in the last times. He was not to use censures, and was not to rebuke the elders. He was to see that the presbyters be liberally minded. He was not to receive an accusation but in the presence of the church, and to do nothing with partiality, and

ordain presbyters in every city. The diocese was large, the clergy many. To the cases of Timothy and Titus is added that of the seven angels who presided over the seven Churches of Asia.

We have next the testimonies of the ancient Fathers. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, shows how the Apostles, foreseeing the contentions that would arise about the name of Episcopacy, 'appointed the degrees, and gave a list of the offices.' Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Trallians, tells them 'to do nothing without their bishops, and to be subject also to the authority of their priests.' Again, he says that the bishop bears the resemblance of God, the Father of all things; that without the bishop it is not lawful to baptize or to offer sacrifice. The canons 'of the most holy and venerable Apostles forbid a presbyter or deacon to leave his division or parish without permission from his bishop.' Irenæus says, 'We can number up those who by the Apostles were made bishops in the Churches and their successors even to our time.' This same Irenæus testifies that he had seen Polycarp, who was made a bishop by the Apostles. Tertullian says, 'Let them set forth the originals of their Churches; let them reckon up the order of their bishops so running down from their successors from the beginning, so that the first bishop had one of the Apostles, or apostolic man, for his author and predecessor.' All antiquity, Hall says, makes bishops the successors of the Apostles. By Ignatius they are called 'rulers;' by Ambrose, 'chiefs of the priests;' by Dionysius, 'hierarchs.' In many passages, both of the Fathers and Councils, presbyters are called 'the bishop's presbyters.' The power of ordination belonged to bishops alone. Jerome and Chrysostom testify that, in laying on of hands, bishops go beyond presbyters. Colluthus, a presbyter of Alexandria, took upon himself to ordain presbyters. He was summoned before Hosius and other bishops at a General Council, where he was reprimanded, and the orders of those whom he had or-

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No Church
without
bishops till the
invention of
the Geneva
'Discipline.'

everywhere in the whole Christian Church in all was retained by the sects not in communion with the Waldenses and Albigenses. A Church or sect a bishop was unheard of till the invention of the 'Discipline.' As to the lay elders, antiquity knew of presbyters which were not of the clergy. The usually quoted is not the true Ambrose; but even pretended Ambrose says of elders is nothing for byterians. They were aged men, whose experience give them knowledge, and whose gravity might command them reverence. The same Ambrose interprets concerning the elders that rule well, as preachers also Christ's vicars because of their fidelity in administering their office. Soon after this defence of Episcopacy Hall published 'An Humble Remonstrance for Liberty of Episcopacy,' addressed to the High Court of Parliament. This was a tract of not more than ten pages. It contained no arguments which had not been already advanced.

'Smectym-
nuus.'

Both the 'Humble Remonstrance' and the 'Divine Right of Episcopacy' were answered by 'Smectymnuus.' This was a word formed from the initial letters of the names of the authors,—Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Richard Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstov. These five divines are generally classed as Presbyterian. They were moderate men, willing to tolerate both the liberty of Episcopacy for the sake of peace and unity, though they objected to what they called 'conceived prayer,' and the Presbyterian government. They represented the party of the Presbyterians who had always been the most numerous and the most deserving of respect; that party which would have remained in the same Church with Bishop Hall, if Hall had not separated himself with Laud and joined the advocates of Episcopacy by divine right. They were satisfied with the Presbyterian position, that liturgy and Episcopacy had not been known in the times of the Apostles. An inference was drawn upon Hall, from some words in his preface, which,

unalterable. From which it was inferred, that the guilt of altering the monarchy was less than the guilt of altering the Episcopacy. Hall calls this a 'dangerous slander,' and says his words were, 'If antiquity be the rule, the civil polity hath sometimes varied, the sacred never. And if original authority may carry it, that came from arbitrary imposers, this from men inspired.' The Smectymnians had to vindicate themselves from the charge of being disturbers of the Church. Hall urged, that if those who were trying to introduce another form of administration upon a neighbour Church were branded as incendiaries, we could not suffer those to escape who were trying to change the polity of the Church of England. This referred to attempts made to enforce Episcopacy on the Church of Scotland. The Smectymnians answered, that the Episcopal faction in Scotland were strangers, endeavouring violently to obtrude innovations upon a *settled Church and State*; but multitudes who were not satisfied in the Church of England, complained less of the liturgy and Episcopacy in themselves, than of the claims which were now made for Episcopacy, and of recent innovations which were changing the character of the Church.

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The Smectymnians were ready to dispute with him concerning the antiquity of liturgies and the divinity of Episcopacy. They quoted Tertullian, who says that in his day the public assemblies prayed without any prompter but their own hearts; and Augustine, who says that we are free to ask the things desired in the Lord's Prayer in other words. Justin Martyr also bears the same testimony, where he says, 'He who instructed the people prayed according to his ability.' Settled forms of worship were not introduced till the Arians and Pelagians propagated their heresies in their prayers and hymns. And even then the form of prayer was composed by the minister. It is enjoined by the Council of Carthage that no minister is to use a new form of prayer without first conferring with his brethren. Bishop Hall had said that the Lord's Prayer itself was in part borrowed

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CHAP. III. used by God's people since the days of Moses, — Smectymnians could only deny, for proof was wanted on both sides. Hall said that the compilers of our liturgy were holy martyrs and reformers. The Smectymnians answered that of 'the tribe for which he pleads, not a single one called them *traitors* rather than martyrs, and *defenders* rather than reformers.' One or two objections are raised against the liturgy in the form of queries. The first is a weighty one, that whereas, by the Scriptures, the people is the mouth of the people to God, yet response is appointed in the service to be said by the people. It is said that in King Edward's book, there was a rubric which left it to the discretion of the minister what and how much was to be read when there was a sermon. The ground was said, of the first binding of the liturgy upon all, was not to hinder them exercising their right in prayer, but to prevent the old Popish priests from returning to the Church. Bishop Wren was the first to condemn 'conceivings' in the Church.

No diocesan
bishops in the
early Church.

In replying to Hall on Episcopacy, the Smectymnians said nothing which was really new, yet their book contained much that can well be said on their side. Hall had admitted that a bishop, as distinct from a presbyter, was not discernible in the New Testament. How then, said the Smectymnians, can it be shown that there were bishops in the Apostolic Church? And, if bishops, there could be no dioceses, for there were no parishes till two hundred years after Christ; and without dioceses, the bishops could not be diocesan. The Smectymnians said that, if Hall had been learned in antiquity, he would have found learned authors affirming that the Church in the time when the Church was not governed by bishops was governed by presbyters. In the New Testament bishops and presbyters were the same, both in name and in office. Titus was sent to Crete to ordain presbyters. A description is given of the character required of the persons to be ordained. A reason is added that a bishop must be blameless.

was styled 'brother' by his presbyters. Paul exhorts Timothy not to neglect the gift that was given him by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Jerome says that, previous to the divisions in the Church, it was governed by a common council. To prove this, he appeals to the Scriptures, when Paul, writing to the Philippians, says, 'Paul and Timotheus to the bishops and deacons.' The commentaries that go by the name of Ambrose say that rectors or governors were ordained in every city when the Church began to increase. The presbyters themselves, St. Jerome says, brought in this uniformity concerning the line of succession; and the Smectymnians urge the difficulty in which Protestant bishops are placed by having to trace their pedigree through the loins of Antichrist. They then argue that the bishops of the present day are not like those of the days of the Apostles; yea, those of the Apostles' days were unlike the bishops of four hundred years later. Episcopacy, like the ship Argo, has been so often repaired that there is now nothing left of the first materials. In former times the sole jurisdiction of a bishop was 'a stranger and a monster.' Ordination, admonition, and excommunication were not in the hands of any single man. Cyprian, in exile, writing to his charge, says that Aurelius was ordained by him and his colleagues who were present with him. In his day bishops did not ordain alone, but only in conjunction with the presbyters. Firmilianus says of them that rule in the Church, that they possess the power of laying on hands and of ordaining, and that these rulers are called *seniores et præpositi*, by which is understood presbyters as well as bishops. From these passages it is concluded that presbyters might ordain without bishops. The commentaries which go under the name of St. Ambrose say that, in Egypt, if the bishop is not present the presbyters ordain. Augustine affirms the same thing in almost the same words. The Chorepiscopus, who was but a presbyter, had power to lay on hands, if licensed to do it by the bishop. The Council of Carthage decreed that a bishop should not ordain a

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present should lay on their hands with the hands of the bishop. Jerome and St. Chrysostom make bishops and presbyters to differ from each other only in having the power of ordination, but this was simply a difference of fact, not *de jure*. Leo I. says that bishops are beholden for their priority to the canon of the Church more than to the will of God's word.

For the Scripture arguments, in favour of Episcopacy, the main cases are those of Timothy and Titus and the angels of the Asiatic Churches. As to Timothy and Titus, it is urged by the Smectymnians that they were evangelists and not bishops or presbyters. Paul exhorted Titus to abide at Ephesus for a time. He was not placed there permanently, as one who had the pastoral or episcopal charge at Ephesus. We read in the Acts of the Apostles that Paul sent him up and down on various services of the Church. When Paul fled from the tumults at Berea, he left behind him Silas and Timothy. From Athens Paul sends Titus to Thessalonica to confirm the Thessalonians in the faith. He returned again to Paul at Athens, whence he and Silas were sent into Macedonia. They returned to Corinth and then went to Ephesus. At Miletus, Paul assembled the elders of the Church, and charged them to feed the flock of Christ in their charge which would surely have been given to Timothy had he been Bishop of Ephesus. Moreover, St. Paul calls them 'bishops,' which certainly he would not have done in the presence of Timothy, if Timothy had been their bishop. St. Paul says nothing of any superiority of Timothy over them, nor of any duty which they owed to him as bishop. The clear inference which the Smectymnians draw from the passage is, that St. Paul did not leave Timothy at this time as Bishop of Ephesus. It is rather evident that he took Timothy with him to Jerusalem and thence to Rome for the Epistles written from thence, either in the preface or the inscriptions, bear the name of Timothy as St. Paul's companion and fellow-labourer. Timothy is called a

cular Church or diocese. We read of him as Paul's companion in his journey through Antioch to Jerusalem, returning again to Antioch, and thence proceeding into Syria and Cilicia, confirming the Churches. From Cilicia he goes to Crete, where he is left *for a while* to put in order the things that remain. He was called Bishop of Crete by the ancients, as Dr. Rainolds explains it, because he did for a time the things which were afterwards done by the bishop. But Titus and Timothy, say the Smectymnians, were never delegated to ordain alone or to govern alone, or to rebuke an elder, but to entreat him as a father. Here follows a curious explanation of St. John's angels. The angel of Thyatira is addressed as plural, *I say unto you*, whence it is argued that the angel was not an individual, but the whole presbytery of the Church collectively. The Smectymnians reminded Hall of the conditions on which bishops were retained in the Church of England at the Reformation. The laws of the land* proclaim that not only *bishoprics, but bishops and all the jurisdiction they have is from the King*. The divine right of Episcopacy cannot, therefore, be advocated without prejudice to the sovereignty. Hall answered that the place and exercise of a bishop's jurisdiction are of regal donation, but the function itself is divine. A few passages for the lay eldership were quoted by the Smectymnians from the Fathers. Augustine writes 'to the beloved brethren, the clergy, the seniors, and all the people of the Church of Hippo.' Albaspi-
neus, in his edition of Optatus, speaks of seniors in this passage, 'to the brethren, the sons, the clergy, and the seniors.'

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Bishop Hall replied to Smectymnuus in 'A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnuus.' The question of the liturgy was easily dealt with. Augustine might say, we were at liberty to ask for the things prayed for in the Lord's Prayer, but surely this did not prove that there was no liturgy then used in the service of the Church. He illustrated the present custom of the Church of England where we have a

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yet be given by the ordinary. Timothy was said to have had the ministerial gift by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Hall, quoting Calvin, explains presbytery to mean the office of a presbyter, and not the men of a presbytery. Timothy was ordained by the laying on of St. Paul's hands. As to Jerome, he, indeed, says, 'there is no difference between a bishop and a presbyter,' but he contradicts himself when he shows that bishops were made to prevent schisms in the Church; and, as schisms began in the Apostles' days, so also must the office of bishop. The true Ambrose, and not the commentator who bears his name, tells us that 'God requires one thing of a bishop, and another of a presbyter, and another of a deacon.' And to show the necessity of a presbytery to join the bishop in ordination, Hall asks who ever heard of a bishop ordaining a presbyter alone, without the concurrent imposition of the hands? The elders from Ephesus might not all have been from Ephesus. They were probably from divers parts. Timothy might have been Bishop of Ephesus, and then he might have gone with Paul to Jerusalem. In the judgment of some, Titus was ordained, by Paul, after the journey to Jerusalem in the Acts. As to Augustine's *seniores*, they were not men of Hippo, magistrates and men in authority, but they were called aldermen. The Church, doubtless, had the advice of such men, but it was not governed by *elders*, *pastors*, and *presbyters*.

The Smectymnians vindicated their answer to the Remonstrance,' and Hall answered the Vindication. The arguments on both sides were exhausted.

The question of the bishoprics of Ephesus and Jerusalem was handled with rare ability by William Prynne. In 1642 he published a treatise called 'The Unbishopping of Timothy and Titus.' He does not find that Timothy is called a bishop in the New Testament. He was an associate and fellow-worker, always accompanying Paul in his travels. He was properly his 'minister' or 'deacon' of the Gospel. When St. Paul wrote the Epistle, Tim-

'The Unbishopping of Timothy and Titus.'

bishop. The inscription at the end of the Second Epistle, where he is called the first bishop of the Ephesians, is a mistake. He went about with St. Paul, or was sent by him to different places, as the Apostle found work for him to do. If he had been a bishop, it is not likely, Prynne says, that St. Paul would have asked him 'to carry his clothes-bag, his books, and parchments after him.' When he was left at Ephesus, he had just entered on his ministry. As soon as Paul returned from Macedonia, Timothy was sent to Achaia. He joins Paul in the salutations in the Epistles to the Corinthians, Philippians, and Thessalonians. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, where we should have expected to read something of him had he been then bishop, he is not even mentioned. St. Paul himself, and not Timothy 'the bishop,' excommunicated Hymenæus and Philetus. In the words which St. Paul addressed to the elders of Ephesus, Timothy is not spoken of as if he had any episcopal pre-eminence among them. Tychicus was sent to Ephesus to do the same things which Timothy was commissioned to do. This Tychicus, according to Dorotheus, was one of the seventy disciples, and afterwards Bishop of Chalcedon. It is therefore more likely, Prynne says, that Tychicus was Bishop of Ephesus, if there was such a person; but Paul expressly calls the 'elders' or presbyters 'bishops.' When he went to Ephesus, long after Timothy was *left* there, he laid hands on those who had only been baptized with John's baptism, that they might receive the Holy Ghost.

Titus was another of Paul's fellow-labourers. Long after he had been left at Crete, he was sent by the Apostle to Dalmatia. He is charged, as Paul's vicar, to come to him diligently to Nicopolis. He was to bring with him 'Zenas the lawyer.' Paul tells Timothy that he is to ordain elders, overseers, or bishops in every city. These bishops, Prynne concludes, must have been of the same order to which Titus himself belonged. Homer says that Crete had ninety walled cities. Is it likely, Prynne asks, that an archbishop over so

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Bishop Hall
and John
Milton.

Milton's con-
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Fathers.

Bishop Hall met a more formidable opponent in respects than Smectymnuus. This was John Milton. in some respects, for, whatever may have been ability as a writer, he had not that knowledge of the which was possessed either by Hall or the Smect. His treatise 'Of Prelatical Episcopacy' was a reply 'Humble Remonstrance' and Ussher's 'Apostolic tion of Episcopacy.' He dealt more with general than special arguments. He concluded from the tament accounts of Timothy and Titus that they bishops, but rather vicegerents of the Apostles. The ing of bishoprics to them had its origin with what calls 'that undigested heap and fry of authors we call antiquity.' In these ancient writers we find worthy of trust. The history of Councils is corrupted. Councils themselves were corrupted by an ungodly party. 'Whatever,' he says, 'time or the heedless hand of chance hath drawn down of old to this present in a drag net, whether fish or seaweed, shells or shrubs picked, unchosen, these are the Fathers.' What asks, can we place on the judgment of Councils as a distinction between presbyters and bishops when they are blind judges of things before their eyes? The Council of Chalcedon acknowledges Rome for an apostolic throne. Peter in that see for the rock. Eusebius says it is difficult to tell who were appointed bishops by the apostles. Yet Leontius, an obscure bishop of Magnesia, out of the story of the Council of Chalcedon, reckoned two successors to Timothy in Ephesus. What could he know beyond his own diocese; and how could he determine what kind of bishops these were? Many of the bishops ascribed to these bishops were merely apocryphal, being out of misunderstood places of Scripture. A dozen are ascribed to Ignatius, five of which are admitted as spurious, full both of trifles and heresies. This is the case with the Bishop of Antioch Theopolis, which be-

power over all and beyond all government and authority CH
 whatever.' In his Epistle to the Ephesians, Milton says
 there is a line which casts an ill hue upon all the epistle.
 It is this:—' Let no man err ; unless a man be within the
 rays or enclosure of the altar, he is deprived of the bread of
 life.' In the Epistle to the Church of Smyrna, Ignatius tells
 them ' to follow their bishop as Christ did His Father, and
 the presbyters as the Apostles.' Then follows the sentence,
 ' It is not lawful without a bishop to baptize, nor to offer,
 nor to do sacrifice.' Again, ' My son, says Solomon,
 honour God and the king ; but I say honour God and the
 bishop or high priest, bearing the image of God according
 to his ruling, and of Christ according to his priesting, and
 after him honour the king.'

Irenæus says that Polycarp was made Bishop of Smyrna
 by the Apostles. When Irenæus was a boy he saw Polycarp.
 A distinct and supreme order, says Milton, is concluded from
 the young observation of Irenæus. We might as well say
 that Calvin, and after him Beza, were bishops of Geneva in
 the unsettled state of that Church. Irenæus, according to
 Eusebius, was a disciple of Papias, the weak and supersti-
 tious Chiliast. This patron of Episcopacy is also the patron
 of some of the heresies of the Papists. He says that ' the
 obedience of Mary was the cause of salvation to herself and
 all mankind.' Again, that ' Eve was seduced to fly God, that
 the Virgin Mary might be made the advocate of the Virgin
 Eve.' Tertullian is quoted by the advocates of Episcopacy,
 as saying that Polycarp was placed at Smyrna by St. John,
 and Clement was ordained at Rome by St. Peter ; but this
 same Tertullian denies the equality of God the Son with God
 the Father. Of the worthlessness of what is called Catholic
 antiquity, Milton produces a notable instance in the case of
 the disputes about keeping Easter. Could Polycarp have
 erred in what St. John did, or could Anicetus at Rome have
 erred as to what Peter and Paul did ? Yet these men, who
 themselves conversed with Apostles, or with those who had
 been the companions of the Apostles, could not agree in so

CHAP. III.

Milton finds
Church go-
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ment urged against Prelaty,' Milton explains more fully his views of Church polity. He takes up the question which was now occupied both by the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians, that there is a definite scheme of ecclesiastical government prescribed in the New Testament. He conjectures it as even possible that God should have left a 'frail and feeble Church in this dark voyage without the aid and compass of discipline.' If He had so left it, what would He ask, that will dare 'to guide the living ark of the Church? Ghost, though he should find it wandering in the wilderness of Bethshemesh, without a high calling?' The prelates may well tremble lest the fate of Uzza be theirs. Milton argues his point from such figures as those which compare the Church to the wife or bride of Christ, and from such relations as these, that Christ must yield the protection of a perfect discipline. Again, there is a repeated argument from the minute care which Jesus took over the smallest matters in the ceremonial of the law, to the inference that if He cared so much for the inferior things, is it likely that such glorious architecture as the Christian Church should be varnished over by the decorations and embellishments of man's imagination? Milton, however, draws both from the Episcopal and the Presbyterian views of Divine right, in refusing to find the pattern of ecclesiastical offices and officers in the law of Moses. He would not let the prelates go to Adam for their first bishop, but commends them to go even higher, and begin their search from Lucifer. The gospel, he says, was a fulfilling of the law, and not an imitation of it. There is no parallel between Episcopacy and the priesthood of Aaron; and, as a plea that bishops were raised up to prevent schisms, he answers that they have promoted more schisms than they have prevented. He also wrote 'An Apology for Smectymnuus' and 'Animadversions upon the Remonstrance against Smectymnuus.' The one is put in the form of objections and answers. It is remarkable for its argument and the prevalence of reason. The

The writings of Milton which relate to the Church question were published about 1640-1, when he was still comparatively a young man. He had been destined for the service of the Church by his parents, but the progress of the Laudensian innovations made him despair of the Church's future. But for the success of Laud's party, John Milton's name might have been in the roll of the great divines, probably among the most revered prelates of the Church of England. At this time his views seem to have been Presbyterian, but of that moderate kind which would have conformed while conformity was practicable, and while there was hope of reformation. But, with the Smectymnians and the great body of the moderate and conformable Puritans, he was converted into an open enemy of the Church as it then existed.

Milton left behind him an unpublished work on Christian doctrine, from which it is evident that he had departed widely, in his later years, from the doctrines and the polity of the Presbyterians. This is called 'A Posthumous Treatise on Christian Doctrine, Completed from the Scriptures alone.' Milton's reliance on the Scriptures is characteristic of that age. It is surprising that to one so impatient of tradition or authority, the question of demarcating between the provinces of reason and Scripture does not seem to have presented itself. 'Let us,' he says in one place, 'discard reason in sacred matters, and follow the doctrines of the Scriptures exclusively.' What would be the value of the Scriptures after reason has been discarded, we do not at present care to inquire. Had Milton kept his own rule, he would not have written a treatise of Christian doctrine. He could not have compared Scripture with Scripture if he had discarded reason. He could make no inferences from the words of Scripture but those which reason made. Milton meant that he was to receive as Christian doctrine only that which was evident to his reason from Scripture. But even to this principle he was not faithful. He said, 'Let us discard reason' yet soon after he is reasoning about the deep ques-

CHAP. III. and because it *is*, it can never have an end of being. A Scripturalist will be pleased with Milton's proud declaration that he follows no heresy nor sect, but the Holy Scriptures. Yet Milton begins this very treatise with a recognition that though the Reformed religion is so well justified against the Papists, it is not completely strengthened by its own defence. He asks for champions who will be fearless enough to recognize the conditions on which religious knowledge is given; that, as in other things, the offer is not all directed, not to an indolent credulity, but to a diligent and unwearied search after the truth. Religious knowledge, he says, is grounded not upon an easy acquiescence on a full and earnest exercise of the faculties which men are endowed. As Milton left reason and its limits undefined, so did he omit to determine in what sense Scripture is Scripture. The result is, that in this treatise, which to some are most plainly taught in the Scriptures, is explained away by reason; and other things, which are in great accordance with reason, are received because they seem to be sanctioned by the letter of Scripture.

Milton begins with the doctrine of *God*. Where we can know God, this is explained, that it is to be understood with reference to the imperfect comprehensions of men. We cannot know God as He really is. To speculate upon the nature of an essence so much beyond us is dangerous. It is to think of God after the manner of men. Consequently, therefore, is in conceiving of God as He is represented in Scripture. We may be sure, Milton says, care has been taken that there be no unworthy representation of the Divine in the sacred writings. It may be objected, that the representations there are human, just such as men would have had not read the Scriptures. To which Milton answers that the similitude between things in heaven and things on earth is probably greater than we imagine. But even if they are not, there is still more truth to us in the imperfect conceptions, which are adapted to our capacities, than in vague speculations as to the Divine Essence.

gent decrees is not unworthy of God, and that it may be defended on human principles as most wise. There is a special decree called predestination. It means that God, before the foundation of the world, predestinated to eternal life those who should believe and continue in the faith. Predestination means election. It does not include reprobation. This is an error of the schools. There is a book of the living, but we never read of a book of death. God is long-suffering to usward, that is, to all men. He hates nothing that He has made. He has omitted nothing that was necessary for universal salvation. The schoolmen distinguish between the revealed will and the hidden will of God. But this is to make two wills in God, the one of which is contrary to the other. The decree of reprobation, if one may speak of such a decree, is conditional, like that of predestination. As election is confirmed by faith, so reprobation is rescinded by repentance. All men have given to them grace sufficient to enable them to attain a knowledge of the truth, and the final salvation to which it will lead them.

Against the doctrine of the Trinity, as commonly received, An A Milton openly protests. The Church of Rome, he says, declares that it cannot be proved by any passage of Scripture. The eternal generation of the Son is a doctrine invented since the Apostles' days. As the *Logos*, or Word, He existed in the beginning, and was the first-born of the whole creation. He was the *first-born*, but not generated from eternity. God imparted to Him a measure of the divine nature, —we may say of the divine substance, but the Son did not receive the entire of the divine essence. The orthodox, says Milton, had a great opinion of their own acuteness, and so they started an hypothesis that the Son was numerically and personally distinct from the Father, and yet one. In this way they preserved the divine unity. But Jesus disowns co-essentiality with His Father, where He says, 'My Father is greater than I.' He is the first-born among many brethren, the beginning of the creation of God, the first

CHAP. III. later than the Son, and we may say much in
 — Him.

All things an
 emanation
 of Deity.

The Son and the Holy Ghost are thus created out of the Divine substance, so far they are kindred but this relationship, in a less degree, Milton maintains exist between God and all creation. All things flow from the Divine substance, not of necessity, but by the will of God. He produced all things from Himself. This doctrine, Milton, was no speculative doctrine of reason, but of the teaching of the Bible. The Hebrew, Greek, and Latin words which are translated 'create,' do not mean, he says, to create out of nothing, but out of a previously existing matter. All things which are seen were not made out of things which were not visible as they now are. From this follows the possibility of annihilation. God neither can nor will annihilate anything. He works for an end, and that end cannot be nothing.

Milton on the
 Sabbath.

We read of two institutions in Paradise,—the Sabbath and marriage. Milton is doubtful if the law of the Sabbath was ever revealed to Adam, or, indeed, if there was any commandment given previous to the law on Mount Sinai. Scripture is silent on the subject. He conjectures that the man who seems to have written the Book of Genesis inserted the Sabbath into a place which seemed suitable. When the people gathered twice as much on the Sabbath, the ruler of the congregation wondered, which shows that they were ignorant of the law of the Sabbath. On marriage, Milton's views are peculiar. He is against divorce, not merely because of fornication, but where persons married were dissatisfied with each other. On this, he explained the word fornication in a wide sense to make it embrace everything on which a man and a woman might not agree. Marriage was instituted for the happiness of the persons married, and if this object was not attained, a marriage might be dissolved, on the principle that

should only be of one woman to one man. The Scriptures nowhere forbid polygamy. Abraham and other patriarchs and pillars of our faith had more wives than one. 'Kings' daughters' were among Solomon's 'honourable women,' and 'the virgins' were the queen's companions. Milton's imperfect sense of the province of Scripture, as a teacher of men, is the only reason that can be assigned for this advocacy of polygamy. It is the result of interpreting the Bible after we have discarded reason.

In the same way Milton finds that the death of the body is a punishment for sin, that even beasts are not excluded from the penalty. He finds, too, that the whole man dies, —body, soul, and spirit. This he proves by such passages as 'Man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?' 'Before I go hence and be no more;' 'I am not yet ascended;' and 'I go to prepare a place for you,' which plainly declares that as yet there was no place for the glorified spirits of men. Christ's death was a satisfaction made to God,—a fulfilment of the law, a payment of a price for the whole race of man. Infants are not to be baptized, and baptism is to be performed by immersion in running water. There are no clergy as distinct from laity. All believers are God's heritage, and to them is committed the power of the keys. Christians are to meet together for worship and mutual edification until Christ comes. He will reign personally on earth for a thousand years, and at the end of the thousand years, those saints who have fallen asleep before His coming shall awake to a never-ending life.

Milton, as a theologian, will disappoint none more than those who wish to draw a system of Christian doctrine from the Scriptures alone. He shows the worthlessness of antiquity, for 'our fathers have transgressed.' He rejects the authority of the Church, applying to it the words of the prophet, 'Plead with your mother, plead, for she is not my wife.' He admits that the Scriptures have various readings, that we have no original manuscripts, and that the Bible

CHAP. III.

Conference on
innovations at
the Dean of
Westmin-
ster's.

In 1641 the Lords appointed several of the leading Church who were opposed to the doctrines and practices of Laud and his party, to meet at the Bishop of London's house, in Westminster.* There were present, Archbishop Ussher, Dr. Prideaux, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Brownrigg, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Featly, Rector of Lambeth, and Dr. Hackett, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. They were to consider 'Touching Innovations in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England.' The account of their proceedings contained also 'Conversations upon the Book of Common Prayer.' Under the first head—'Innovations in Doctrine'—they expressed a doubt about the genuineness of the doctrine in Art. XX., which says, 'The Church has authority in all controversies of faith.' They gave a catalogue of doctrines which they regarded as not in harmony with the teaching of the Church of England. Some of these were, that justification by good works 'are concauses with the act of faith,' that works of penance are satisfactory before God, that private confession is necessary to salvation, that absolution is not merely declaratory, that the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice,† that prayers for the dead are lawful,‡ that the Lord's day is only of ecclesiastical institution, that oaths are to pay whatever sums of money are imposed on them, that election is because of faith foreseen, and that grace is imparted to reprobates as much as to the elect. Under the innovations in discipline were some with which the people were familiar. The communion table was turned altar-wise, and called an altar. Then the people were taught to bow towards the 'altar' or towards the East. 'This was done sometimes with three congees, but usually in every recess, or recess in the church.' Upon the 'altar,' in all churches, there was an array of candlesticks, and upon the 'altar' a canopy, and before it, upon the parafront or altar cloth, crucifixes and images. The minister read the lessons with his back to the people and his face towards the

Novelties in
worship.

Besides the 'altar,' there was erected a *Credentia* or side table. When a child was baptized, the minister carried it to the 'altar' and made an offering of it to God. Some other things are marked as novelties, which in our day no one would wish to change. At the administration of the Lord's Supper all the communicants were required to come up to the rails to receive the elements. This, it appears, was not the ancient custom of the Church of England. Among the other extraordinary innovations was the taking down of galleries in churches, singing the *Te Deum* in prose, and causing the people to stand at the hymns and the *Gloria Patri*. The changes recommended in the Prayer Book were considerable. The names of some saints were to be dropped from the calendar. The Rubric about vestments, according to the second year of the reign of King Edward, was to be mended. The lessons from the Apocrypha were to be omitted, and in the Burial Service, for the 'sure and certain hope,' was to be substituted, 'knowing assuredly that the dead shall rise again.'*

* Neal remarks that in 1641 Charles made good appointments of bishops. Williams was translated to York, Winiffe to Lincoln, Duppa to Salisbury, King to Chichester, Hall to Norwich, Skinner to Oxford, while Brownrigg was promoted to Exeter, Westfield to Bristol, Prideaux to

Worcester, Ussher to Carlisle in *commendam*; soon afterwards, Frewen to Lichfield and Coventry, and Howel to Bristol. These were all more or less liberal Churchmen, but it was too late, the Church was to fall with Laud.

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chan
Pray

CHAPTER IV.

WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES. — TWISSE. — BU
CAWDRY. — CHEYNELL. — THE 'DISSENTING BRETE
THOMAS GOODWIN ON INDEPENDENCY.—THE SAVOY
TION. — RISE OF THE BAPTISTS. — CONTROVERSY
TOMBES AND MARSHALL. — FAMILY OF LOVE. — QU
BEHMENISTS.—ROSICRUCIANS.—MUGGLETONIANS.—FI
NARCHY MEN.—JOHN BIDLE.—ANTINOMIAN CONTRO
PETER STERRY.—JOHN HOWE.—JOHN OWEN.—JOHN C
—RICHARD BAXTER.

Westminster
Assembly of
Divines.

IN 1643 the Lords and Commons passed an ordinance for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines and others, to be consulted with by Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the doctrines of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations.' To this Assembly a hundred and twenty clergymen were invited. They were nominated by the members of Parliament, and all parties were in some degree represented. The great body of them were men who had hitherto been conformable ministers of the Church of England. Among them were Archbishops Ussher and Vintages, Bishops Morton, Prideaux, Brownrigg, and Westfall, and Drs. Hammond, Sanderson, and Hacket. The King denounced the Assembly illegal. After this, the Bishop of London, his supporters to the assembly, and the assembly itself, were all declared illegal.

sion of the XXXIX. Articles, but they ended by rejecting O
Episcopacy, and substituting for the Articles and the Prayer
Book a Confession of Faith and a Directory of Worship.

It would be difficult to fix upon any point of doctrine in The
which the Confession of Faith materially differs from the Ar- sion
ticles. It has more system. What is taught is reduced to not
logical form. There is not only a statement of certain doc- diffe
trines, but an open recognition of the consequences which the
necessarily follow from these doctrines. The majority of the Arti
ministers of the Assembly were willing to set aside Episcopacy,
though there were some who wished to retain it.* The majo-
rity were also willing to set up Presbytery in its place, though
there were a few who preferred the Independent or Congre-
gational government. On one subject they were all united,
and that was in their adherence to the doctrines of Calvin.
Arminianism had found its way into the high places of the
Church. It had defied all the traditions of the Reformation.
It had even claimed as on its side the Augustinian Articles
written by the Calvinistic Reformers, who hated 'free-
willers' as they hated the Pope and the other great enemy
of man. It is, then, to be expected that the Confession of
Faith will express an undoubted Calvinism, and express it
so as neither an old Arminian nor a modern Rationalist can
raise a doubt about 'the literal and grammatical sense.'

The first chapter of the Confession treats of the Holy
Scriptures. We are told that the light of nature is just
sufficient to leave men 'inexcusable,' but not enough to give
them 'that knowledge of God, and of His will, which is ne-
cessary to salvation.' In other words, the light of nature
may do men great harm; for this end it is given; but it
can do them no good whatever. The anxiety of the Cal-
vinist to condemn man always ends in leaving God without
excuse. Job wished to order his cause before God, and he
felt confident that he could do it righteously; but the
Westminster Assembly of Divines made it impossible for
God to order His cause righteously before man. The next
Lig-
ture

CHAP. IV. subject is revelation. God in old times spoke to the people in divers manners, but this mode of revealing His will is now laid aside, and what He wishes us to know 'is committed to writing.' The canonical Scriptures are given by inspiration to be 'the rule of faith and life.' The apocryphal books are in the same category with other writings. The Holy Scripture does not come to us as the testimony of any man or church, but depends wholly on the word of God, and must be received as the word of God. The assurance of its infallible truth and divine authority 'is the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness with the word in our hearts.' We are to have no traditions or revelations of the Spirit. The work of the Spirit is now confined to giving a saving understanding of what is 'revealed in the word.' The Scriptures, in the original Hebrew and Greek, were immediately inspired by God, and by His 'care and providence kept pure in all ages.' In all controversies the final appeal must be to them. The Holy Spirit speaking in Scripture, is the supreme judge; and the infallible rule of interpretation is to interpret Scripture by Scripture.

The second chapter treats of God and the Trinity, with words resembling those of the first Article of the Creed, and the ninth. In the third chapter we are hurried on to the subject of Predestination, which the Assembly regarded as the great subject of revelation. It treats of the existence and evolution of 'God's eternal decree.' It has been said that the compilers of the Confession were not willing to admit the logical consequences of their doctrines. In this there were some exceptions. We read in this chapter that God did, from all eternity, 'unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass;' but it is added that He is not the 'author of sin:' so that either sin was not ordained from all eternity, or it was one of those things which never come to pass.' God did not decree anything because He loved it. But to manifest His glory, He predestinated some men and angels 'unto everlasting life, and others, He fore-ordained unto everlasting death.' The number of these men and

Predestina-
tion.

ordained, and they are effectually made righteous. Though CHA
 God ordained from eternity whatever has happened, yet the
 Assembly said that God did not ordain the Fall, for the elect
 were elected, being 'fallen in Adam.' The rest of mankind
 God was 'pleased to pass by,' 'to withhold mercy' and to
 ordain them to despair and wrath *for their sin*, 'to the praise
 of His glorious justice.' Their sin consists in their having
 fallen in Adam before they had done good or evil, and, to
 make them 'inexcusable,' God withheld His mercy. In
 Chapter VI., it is said, through Adam's fall all men are cor-
 rupt. The guilt of Adam's sin is imputed to them, and,
 through this corruption, we are 'utterly indisposed, disabled,
 and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all
 evil.' The predestinated are effectually called, faith is
 wrought in them, and God accounts them righteous. They
 are not righteous in themselves, but Christ's righteousness
 is imputed to them. They are justified, and the work of in-
 herent righteousness or sanctification is carried on during
 their life on earth. Chapter XVI., 'Of Good Works,' follows
 Art. XIII., in limiting good works to such things as are
 commanded in the Scriptures. The object of the limitation
 is evidently, in the first place, to oppose the superstitious
 ceremonies of the Church of Rome; but the question is so
 broadly stated as to exclude all good works not expressly
 commanded in Scripture, yea, and all good works com-
 manded in Scripture, if done by unregenerate men. They
 are said, in this case, 'to be sinful,' such as 'cannot please
 God or make men meet to receive grace.' But, sinful as the
 'good works' of unregenerate men are, 'the neglect of them
 is still more sinful and displeasing to God.' Chapters XVII.
 and XVIII. establish the certainty of perseverance for the
 elect, and the impossibility of their ever being destitute of
 the life of faith.

In Chapter XX. there is an effort made to reconcile liberty The C
 of conscience with obedience to 'the powers which God hath Magist
 ordained.' Those who publicly maintain opinions or prac-

CHAP. IV.

The Sabbath
day to be kept
holy.

sembly and the civil magistrate, were, it appears, final judges as to 'the light of nature and the principles of Christianity.' Chapter XXI. treats of worship and the Sabbath day. Prayer is declared equally acceptable to God in all places. The Sabbath is founded in a law of nature, that a due proportion be set apart for the worship of God. This law is rational, positive moral and perpetual commandment.' 'The God appointed the seventh day to be kept holy in remembrance of creation, and, since the advent of Christ, the memory of redemption. It is to be kept by a holy abstinence from the day from our 'own works, words, and thoughts, and worldly employments and recreations.' Chapter XXII. turns to the duty of the civil magistrate, which is expressed in nearly the same words as in Art. XXXVII., with, however, this difference, that the civil magistrate is not to have 'the power of the keys.*' He is to preserve peace in the Church, to keep the truth of God pure and entire, to suppress heresies, and to reform abuses in worship and discipline. He is to do all this, and yet he is not to have 'the power of the keys,' for he is to do it by calling synods and presenting at them, and providing that 'whatsoever is

* This of course depends on what is meant by 'the power of the keys.' The Confession seems to make it the power of Church government, or the exercise of discipline. The English Reformers, Cranmer, Barlow, and probably all of them, vested in the king the power to make bishops or priests without consecration or ordination; but Art. XXXVII. denies him the right of administering the word or sacraments. The title also of 'head of the Church,' was taken away. For the word 'head' was substituted the word 'governor,' and the Article declares that the civil magistrate to have the 'chief government.' The article and the chapter in the Confession of Faith may be made to agree or to differ, according to the interpretation put on the words 'keys' and 'government.'

the civil ruler; indeed, he is to communicate any one with the authority of the State. It is the disciplinary power. It was Augustus veiled his despotism by giving the appearance of a constitution. The balance has the Church of England. The amount of its power is preserved in the fact that the State does not appoint bishops, while the Catholics pretend to elect them. The Church of Scotland has always maintained ecclesiastical independence. The Church of England, but its independence has never been maintained. Its measure was that of the State allowed. Mr. Hall's valuable work on 'The Church of Scotland,' has clearly shown that the Kirk believed in its

in them be according to the mind of God.' There is no CHA remedy prescribed in case the civil magistrate and the synod should not agree as to what is heresy, which is the Church, and what is 'according to the mind of God.'

Chapter XXV. defines the Catholic Church as the Church The Ch invisible, consisting only of the elect, who are the spouse, the body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. The visible Church is also Catholic. It is not confined to one nation, as under the Jews. It consists of all who profess the true religion. It is the kingdom of Christ,—the house and family of God, 'out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.' The Catholic Church has been sometimes more, sometimes less visible. The purest churches are subject to error. Some that were once true churches, are now synagogues of Satan. Nevertheless, there will always be a Church on earth to worship God according to His will. The Pope is Antichrist.

Chapter XXVII. calls sacraments 'holy signs and seals of The Sa the covenant of grace.' They represent Christ and His bene- ments. fits. They are usually said to confer grace, because there is a sacramental union between the sign and the thing signified, whence it comes to pass that 'the names and effects of the one are attributed to the other.' In reality they confer grace only on those who receive them worthily; and this not through any power in them, nor because of the piety or intention of him that administers them, but because of the work of the Spirit and the promise of benefit to worthy receivers.

In Chapter XXVIII. baptism is called a 'sign and seal of regeneration.' It is to be performed by a minister of the Gospel, 'rightly called thereunto.' Dipping is not necessary. Infants are to be baptized when one or both of the parents are believers. 'Grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it (baptism), as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated.' This chapter, however, speaks of 'the efficacy of baptism,' saying, that by the

CHAP. IV. but the elect, to whom it belongs. Those who are ordained to life, whether infants or adults, have the baptism conferred when it pleases God to confer it. Art. XXIX., on the Lord's Supper, is simply an amendment of Art. XXVIII. Transubstantiation and consubstantiation are renounced, but the body and blood of Christ are *really*, but spiritually, *present* to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the elements themselves are to the outward senses.'

Church government.

To the Confession was added a form of Church government, which was called Presbyterian. The ordinances of the Church are,—(1.) The pastors, who are to preach the Gospel, read the Scriptures, administer sacraments, pray for and bless the people. The pastor has all power over the flock. (2.) Teachers or doctors who are in schools and universities, as of old in the schools of the prophets and at Jerusalem, where Gamaliel was taught as doctors. (3.) Other Church governors, elders who have gifts of government. (4.) Deacons, whose office is not to preach or administer sacraments, but to have a special care in distributing to the necessities of the Poor. Particular Churches form one Church, which is governed by several kinds of assemblies. These assemblies have power to hear and determine differences, and pronounce Church censures. (1.) Congregational assemblies, the ruling officers of a particular congregation. Their business is to manage the affairs of that congregation, to admit to fellowship, or to cast out offending ministers. (2.) Classical assemblies: a presbytery, with many congregations under it. The lawfulness of this assembly is proved from the state of the Churches of Jerusalem and Ephesus. (3.) Synodical assemblies. These are composed of pastors, teachers, elders, and other fit persons, who may be either provincial, national, or oecumenical. When it may be deemed expedient, may be members of them. The minister is to take upon himself the office of the ministry, and he is ordained to it by the presbytery. These ministers

The members of the Westminster Assembly were all probably men of some eminence in their day. They have been highly extolled by their friends, and loudly decried by their enemies.* Both the praise and the censure are equally undeserved. When we put their names alongside of those who stood by the King and the bishops, they are indeed insignificant. The most eminent of them were Edward Reynolds and John Lightfoot, who conformed at the Restoration. When these two are excepted, there is scarcely another that could be put in any list of the great theologians of England. It is, however, certain that they were nearly all men of some mark. They were either popular preachers, or they had distinguished themselves as scholars, or they had written books. It is probably a fair estimate to say that they were the average good men of the Church in their time.†

* Clarendon says (the Episcopal divines being excepted) 'the rest were all declared enemies to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous in their lives and conversation, most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of England.'

Richard Baxter's account is different. 'Being not worthy to be one of them myself, I may the more freely speak the truth, even in the face of malice and envy; that, so far as I am able to judge by the information of all history of that kind, and by any other evidence left us, the Christian world, since the days of the Apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines than this and the Synod of Dort.'

† We have searched the Puritan Hagiologies for all that could be found of the ninety-eight divines who constituted this Assembly. Of twenty there is no trace. After the names of fourteen, we have written nothing remarkable. The rest had some celebrity, either as scholars or as preachers. John White, of Dorchester and Ro-

a celebrated tutor. Jeremiah Whitaker was a celebrated preacher. Fuller includes him among the learned writers of Sydney College. Anthony Tuckney was a Fellow of Emanuel, and John Arrowsmith of Catherine Hall. Simeon Ashe had 'a good estate, and was liberal with it.' Of Jeremiah Burroughs, Richard Baxter said, 'If all the Episcopalians had been like Archbishop Ussher, all the Presbyterians like Stephen Marshall, and all the Independents like Jeremiah Burroughs, the breaches of the Church would soon have been healed.' Dr. Temple was a Fellow of Trinity, Dublin, and brother of Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls. Richard Baxter recommended him to Hyde for the bishopric of Hereford. George Walker was chaplain to Dr. Felton, Bishop of Ely. Wood calls Lazarus Seaman 'a learned man.' Joshua Hoyle was a Fellow of Trinity, Dublin. Francis Taylor had some reputation as a Hebrew scholar, sufficient to secure the patronage of Archbishop Laud, who gave him a living. Thomas Valentine was 'a very popular preacher.' Andrew Perne was a Fellow of Catherine Hall. John Lang-

CHAP. IV.

William
Twisser.

The first Prolocutor was William Twisse, who being chosen to this office, we may suppose to be one of the best, if not the best man, in the Assembly. He had been a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and had a great reputation in the University by his publications and disputations, but especially by assisting Sir John Mair in correcting the works of Bradwardine. King James made him chaplain to the Lady Elizabeth, whom he accompanied to the Palatine. When he returned to England he became curate of Newbury. He declined several high preferment, the provostship of Winchester, a prebend's stall in the cathedral, a professorship, and a more valuable living than Newbury. He was offered by the States of Friesland a professor's chair in the University of Franeker. Dr. Twisse refused to write the 'Book of Sports,' which marked him out at Court and in Puritan. He wrote on the Sabbath question judiciously and moderately, on the side advocated by Dr. Boan. Twisse's great subject was 'the eternal decrees.' His books are refutations of Arminianism. His opponents were Thomas Jackson, Dean of Peterborough; Charles Potter, Canon of Windsor; John Goodwin, of St. Dunstons Street; and Samuel Hoard.* The first he answered was the 'Discovery of Dr. Jackson's Vanities,' and the last was 'The Riches of God's Love unto the Vessels of Mercy,'

in resisting the efforts of Laud, who was then Dean of Gloucester, in placing the communion table altar-wise. Laud, however, defied both bishop and prebend. The titles of the books and pamphlets of John Ley fill a page in Brook's 'Lives.' Charles Herle, the Prolocutor after the death of Twisse, in 1646, was a considerable writer. Henry Scudder is placed by Fuller among the learned men of Christ's College, Cambridge. John Conant was Master of Exeter at the Restoration. He was ejected, but conformed seven years after. Henry Wilkinson, junior, was made Principal of Magdalen

College, put the table altar-wise, that had been so placed before the Reformation; and Ford was the innovator, which brought him into trouble. Joseph Parker, preacher at Lincoln's Inn, wrote a 'Commentary on the Sabbath' in eleven quarto volumes, published in two impressions. Herbert Palmer is acknowledged to have been a worthy minister. He presented him to the vicarage of St. Andrew, in Hertfordshire. Parker and Palmer together wrote one book on the Sabbath, and another on the Puritan side.

with His absolute Hatred and Reprobation of the Vessels of Wrath.' Twisse did not shrink from advocating the doctrine of reprobation in all its naked and unadorned deformity. The 'vessels of wrath,' he said, were hated from all eternity, not only before they fell in Adam, but before Adam was created. And from this he drew an argument for the marvellous love of God in ordaining to life the vessels of mercy from the same eternity. The reprobate were not reprobated for any evil that they did, either in themselves or in Adam; and the counterpart of this is that the elect were not elected because of faith or repentance. In both cases the decree was absolute, eternal, and immanent, depending merely on the will of God.

The second name on the list is that of Cornelius Burges. He was preacher at St. Paul's in the time of the Commonwealth, when there was no dean. Burges was made chaplain to Charles I. in 1627, but he had been greatly harassed by the High Commission, because of his determined opposition to the doctrines and practices that were sanctioned and encouraged by Archbishop Laud.* In 1629 he published a treatise on the 'Baptismal Regeneration of Elect Infants.' This is a little book of singular interest. It helps us to understand how the highest form of Calvinistic doctrine may be compatible with the belief of an actual regeneration in baptism. It is sometimes convenient to forget that the whole Church of England followed Calvin in doctrine for seventy years after the Reformation. In the Baptismal Service we thank God that every baptized child has been regenerated by the Holy Spirit. To a Calvinist who believes that one who is once made a child of God cannot fall finally from grace, these words cannot have the same meaning as to an Arminian, who does not believe that grace is indefectible. At first sight we would declare the words of the Baptismal Service to be opposed to Calvinism, and subversive indeed of its first and essential principles. But the fact with which we have to deal is, that we receive these services from men who held the doctrines of Calvin. And

CHA

Cornel
Burges

CHAP. IV.

then we have another fact, which is, that the same which is used in the Baptismal Service concerning regeneration, is common to all the Calvinistic writers of the Reformation, both English and foreign. They do not scruple about using it, but seemed rather to glory in its use. The interest of Dr. Burges's explanation of regeneration is, that it may fairly be taken as the view generally received in the Church of England in his time, probably by the majority of Churchmen since the Reformation.

The regeneration which he defends is real. It is not merely outward, ritual, or sacramental, but internal and spiritual. Baptism he calls the sacred laver 'the Holy Spirit seizes' on the baptized 'for Christ to make the fountain open for sin and for uncleanness to all the inhabitants of the spiritual Jerusalem. Some persons, he says, make it a bare sign to distinguish the members of the visible Church from the rest of the world. Others do not admit the efficacy of baptism for the remission of sins, and deny that the Spirit then works an actual regeneration. Burges says, that the baptized child is regenerated, and that ritual life is begun in it at the moment of baptism, and is thereby transplanted out of the first Adam into the second Adam. The Holy Spirit takes up His dwelling in the baptized child.

On Baptismal
Regeneration.

The words of the Service are universal. Every child after baptism is declared to be regenerated, because, as Burges says, the Church teaches us, in the language of the Service, to regard every child as among the elect. Art. XXV. says, 'they that receive the sacrament of baptism are grafted into the Church, etc., by the Holy Ghost.' The Catechism explains who they are that 'receive the sacrament rightly,' where the child is taught to say, 'the Holy Spirit sanctifies me and all the *elect* people of God.' Before the act of baptism there is a prayer in the Service, 'that the child now to be baptized' may be received into the Church 'of the faithful and *elect* children of God.' If the

charity was illustrated from the Burial Service, where a hope is expressed of the eternal well-being of every person who is buried. Yet in that very prayer we are taught that eternal felicity belongs only to the chosen. We give thanks to God *with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and in whom the souls of them that be elected are in joy and felicity.*

Dr. Burges fortifies his arguments by quotations from Calvin, Peter Martyr, Bucer, and Zanchy. All these writers are clear on the efficacy of baptism when administered to elect children, and all of them use that general language of charity, which regards all baptized persons as among the elect. There are also many quotations to the same effect from great writers of the Church of England. Of these the most important are the passages from Hooker. As Hooker was a Calvinist, and at the same time a believer in baptismal grace, it was impossible for his doctrine on this subject to have been different from that of Dr. Burges. Hooker says, 'Predestination bringeth not to life, without the grace of external vocation, wherein our baptism is implied. For as we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth, nor according to the ordinary manifest course of divine dispensation new born but by that baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians. In which respect we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's house, the first apparent beginning of life, a seal perhaps to the grace of election, but to our sanctification here a step that hath not any before it.' This passage is quoted to show that Hooker believed an actual regeneration in baptism. The next question is, if Hooker believed that this regeneration happened to every person baptized? That he did not, Burges quotes 'judicious Hooker' saying, 'All receive not the grace of the sacrament that receive the sacrament of His grace.' Dr. Burges also brings forward an abundance of evidence that his view of baptism was that of all the Reformed Confessions, and that the language of these Confes-

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CHAP. IV. Helvetican Confession says that in baptism 'we are regenerated, purified, and renewed, through the Holy Spirit. The Confession of the Reformed Church of France says, 'We believe, as is aforesaid, that, as well in the Eucharist as in baptism, God doth bestow upon us His grace, in deed, that is to say, truly, whatsoever He therein sacramentally doth represent unto us.' Equally strong are the terms of the old Confession of the Church of Scotland: 'We certainly believe that by baptism we are ingrafted into Christ, and made partakers of His righteousness, whereby all our sins are done away.' The difference between the Protestant view of baptism and the Roman Catholic view is explained to be, that the efficacy is not *ex opere operantis*, but that who receive baptism, that God is not tied to His ordinance, though ordinarily it is in and by His ordinance that He works. Another difference is that, while the Church of Rome believes a complete sanctification in baptism, the Church of England holds that it is then only begun, and is daily perfected by discipline.

Daniel
Cawdry.

Daniel Cawdry, another member of the Assembly, had some reputation as a controversialist. He wrote on the Sabbath question, and 'A Diatribe against Dr. Hales on Superstition and Festivals.' But his chief controversies were with the Independents. Against them he wrote 'Vindiciæ Clavium,' and afterwards 'The Inconsistency of the Church of England with Scripture and Itself,' which contained, among other things, a defence of the 'Vindiciæ.' The main questions to be settled were those which concerned the Church and its government, or, as it was called, 'the power of the keys.' Christ gave to Peter, and then to the other Apostles, 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' The kingdom of heaven is understood to be the Church. But is it the Church invisible, or the whole Catholic Church, or is it a particular congregation? Christ said, 'this rock will I build my Church.' This could not mean a particular congregation. It must mean the universal. And this is the Church both visible and invisible, for these are but different characters of the same Church.

is, to whom were the keys given?—to the Church itself or to its officers?—to Peter as an Apostle and elder, or to Peter as a believer? Cawdry, of course, as a Presbyterian, answers that they were given to the officers of the Church, that they might exercise government. An offended brother was to ‘tell the Church’—that is, the Church in its officers; and the offender was to ‘hear the Church’—that is, he was to submit to the censures of the Church rulers, who had power to bind and loose.

There is but one other member of this assembly who requires special notice. It is Francis Cheynell. Dr. Johnson says* that he was ‘considered the most learned and acute of his party.’ He had a living of great value near Banbury. About the year 1632 he had a dispute with Laud; but of what was said on either side we have no record. Dr. Johnson describes both the disputants as ‘to the last degree zealous, active, and pertinacious.’ Our estimate of Cheynell can only be formed from a few tracts, which in themselves are of no particular value. One is called ‘The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianism.’ It is not so much a refutation of the errors of Socinus as a protest against the exercise of reason in religion. Churchmen of Laud’s school extolled the Fathers, and, under pretence of exalting the Catholic reason of antiquity, they checked the exercise of the individual reason. The Puritans decried reason, and lightly esteemed the Fathers, that they might exalt the Scriptures. But the Socinians, according to Cheynell, exalt their own private judgment above Scriptures, Fathers, and Councils. They make every man a Pope. The Reformers made the final appeal always to the Scriptures. The Puritans went a shade further, and made the Scriptures a *judge* of controversies; that is to say, they supposed the Holy Spirit so to speak in the Scriptures as to exclude the necessity of the use of reason. Socinianism asserted the unlimited right of private judgment. If we are not to bow submissively to the decrees of Councils and Fathers, and if the Spirit does not speak in the Scriptures

CHAP. IV. the only remaining alternative is that the principle

An appeal to
Scripture is
an appeal to
reason.

appeal to the Scriptures involved in it an appeal to
Cheynell found this principle of Socinianism in the
of Chillingworth. 'The Scripture,' Chillingworth
not to be believed finally for itself, but for the mat-
tained in it. So that if men did believe the doctri-
tained in the Scriptures, it should no way hinder the
tion not to know whether there were any Scriptur-
Cheynell, as a sound Puritan, believing that noth-
can be learned except it come through the Scripture
these sentiments full of Deism and Socinianism. Th-
tures, he said, are to be acknowledged as divine,
cause of the doctrine, but because of the authority
speaking in them. Chillingworth said that God w-
impute errors to those who had done their best to
the truth. He even maintained that 'a Papist m-
saved.'*

The 'Dissent-
ing Brethren.' There were seven members of the Westminster A-
known as the 'Dissenting Brethren.' These wer-
Nye, Thomas Goodwin, Jeremiah Burroughs,
Simpson, William Bridges, William Greenhill, and
Carter. They agreed to the Confession of Faith

* Another treatise of Cheynell's
is called *Chillingworthi Novissima* ;
or, The Sickness, Heresy, Death, and
Burial of William Chillingworth.
To this was added 'A Prophane
Catechism, collected out of Mr. Chil-
lingworth's Works.' The object of
the Catechism was to set forth Chil-
lingworth's Socinianism, and to prove
Cheynell's favourite thesis, that faith
was founded on authority, and not
on reason. Chillingworth died at
Chichester. He begged, before he
died, that he might be buried accord-
ing to the rites of the Church of
England. But Cheynell refused to
bury him as a Christian, or to ex-
press, concerning him, any hope 'of
the resurrection to eternal life.' He
met the funeral procession at the
grave, with Chillingworth's great
work in his hands. He made an ora-

said, 'Get thee gone, thou
cursed book, which has
many precious souls; get
thou corrupt, rotten book,
earth and dust to dust; get
into the place of rottenness
mayst rot with thy autho-
corruption. Touching th-
his corpse, I need say no
this,—It will be most p-
the men of his persuasio-
mit the body of their decea-
brother, master to the du-
will be most proper for me
to that counsel of my Savi-
dead bury their dead, but g-
preach the kingdom of God.
went from the grave to
and preached on that text
gregation.' Many of the n-
members of the Westm-
sembly are but little know

Catechism, but objected to the Presbyterian government. Their objections, with the answers of the Assembly, were published by order of the House of Commons.* The argument is, that as a pastor is made an overseer of a flock, his governing power should not exceed the limits of his teaching power. The 'Dissenting Brethren' said that this was Christ's order, but that the Presbyterian destroyed it by making a preaching elder rule over congregations where he did not preach. In the presbytery all members were ruling elders, but they were only preaching elders to their own flocks. This was supposed to set aside the distinction between the elder that rules and the preaching elder. It was also objected, that the Presbyterian polity made an 'incongruous disproportion' between the eldership and the diaconate. If there was a presbytership over all churches, why, it was asked, should there not be a deaconship over all churches? The Presbyterian argument was drawn from the circumstance of many elders being in one town, as in Jerusalem. It was concluded that as there were many elders, there must have been many congregations, and the elders must have formed a presbytery, for they had the government of the Church. The 'Dissenting Brethren' answered, that the believers of Jerusalem were but one congregation. Peter stood up in the midst of them. They were all with one accord in one place. These and many similar passages seemed to show that there was really but one congregation, though many elders, and, consequently, that no elder had jurisdiction, except over the people to whom he ministered.

The presence of these 'Dissenting Brethren' in the Westminster Assembly is the first manifestation of the existence of Independent or Congregational principles within the Church. The earlier Independents were distinguished from the Presbyterians mainly in this, that they regarded separation from the Church as a duty. We meet them as early

* This is a curious document. The first part is called 'The Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against the Dissenting Brethren.' 1644. The differences of dates must be a mistake, for the two pieces are not only bound

CHAP. IV. as Cartwright, when Browne and Harrison advoc

paration from the Church of England on the ground is not a Church. From Browne they were calledists, and from one Barrow, Barrowists. It was not Westminster Assembly that the difference between Presbyterian and the Independent was clearly marked. Even then they both held that 'the discipline' of pastors, elders, and deacons was necessary to constitute a true Church. The Independent only differed from Presbyterian in rejecting the government by presbytery and synods. Every congregation was in itself autonomous and independent of all other Churches. It is probable that many of those who were called Presbyterians in the Elizabethan period were Independents. It is not evident that government by presbyteries was a necessary part of the Discipline.' In Travers's treatise, which was the authoritative exposition, presbyteries are not even mentioned.

Thomas
Goodwin on
Independ-
ency.

Thomas Goodwin, one of the seven 'Dissenting Brethren' who wrote an elaborate work in defence of the principles of the Independents.* The visible Church, which consists of those who walk as saints, have, he says, Christ for their head and under Him officers which He has appointed. These officers have the power to bind and loose, to forgive sins and to deliver over to Satan. So far this is Presbyterianism, but Goodwin adds, that every congregation has the same jurisdiction within itself without reference to other Churches. Long arguments are used to establish the position that Christ must have given to the Church a definite government. Some of these are the same in kind that were urged by the advocates of Episcopacy and of Presbyterianism. But these are original. It cannot be supposed, according to Goodwin, that the Church should be governed 'by the laws of nature or by the maxims of human prudence.' They must have a demonstration from the fact that the Church possesses the power of excommunication. It can deliver over to Satan which is 'a supernatural work.' The Church is the dwelling-house of Christ. He lives in it, presides over it and governs it.

Apostles when they established the Church, and whatever they did are examples amounting to commands for us to follow. Moses was faithful over his house, much more is Christ faithful. Every house is builded by some man. The Church is a house specially built. It has nothing in it of the natural. It is all outside of nature and human reason. It is a special institution. Everything in the Church is to be done according to what we find in the Scriptures, and in no matter of discipline or worship is human reason to be followed. By adhering to the letter of the discipline laid down in the Scriptures we get a special or supernatural blessing. The bread and wine convey to us the body and blood of Christ when we celebrate the Supper as Christ commanded it. The preaching of the Gospel has a special efficacy when it is done by the officers of the Church regularly appointed for the office of preaching.* To give alms is a natural or common law, but to give alms in worship is a sacrifice. The officers of the Church are bishops and deacons. The bishops are of three kinds, pastors, teachers, and ruling elders. To each, in the exercise of his vocation and ministry, belongs a special blessing. By this channel does grace flow to the members of the Church. Discipline, therefore, Goodwin says, is no less important than doctrine. By discipline is meant a certain order in the Church. This, Goodwin in many ways proves to be divine,—by precepts, by examples, and by Old Testament prophecies concerning the discipline that was to be under the Gospel. Did not the Psalmist say ‘This is the day the Lord hath made’? And again, ‘To-day if ye will hear my voice.’ And in both these passages, did he not prophesy of the Christian Sabbath? Again, did not God say, ‘I will take of thee for priests and Levites’? and was not this fulfilled when Christ appointed two chief orders in the Church,—bishops and deacons? Man’s reason is wholly excluded from this region. It must never be exercised except in finding out what God has laid down as parts of the government of His Church. As Goodwin exercised his reason, the

CHAP. IV. result was to find in the Old Testament a deep and meaning about the polity of the Christian Church. As the Acts of the Apostles were written, he says, to teach that the Church is to be governed. No one who reads the Bible can doubt that Church everywhere means a congregation of Independents, with its pastor, teacher, ruling elders, and deacons.

Independency goes further from Presbyterianism.

Independency, in its later history, made a further departure from Presbyterianism. The doctors and ruling elders ceased to be reckoned a necessary part of the divinely appointed polity. The minister, with the deacons and the congregation, were sufficient to constitute a Church. The beginning of this change was first discernible in the congregation at Amsterdam. Francis Johnson, one of the hundred Puritans who had subscribed the 'Book of Discipline,' written by Travers, retired to Amsterdam, and he gathered a Church. Ainsworth, the Hebrew teacher, was doctor or teacher to this congregation. The minister and the teacher differed about the government of the Church, and their difference led to a schism. Johnson, with the older Independents, who were almost Presbyterians, kept the government of the Church in the elders' hands. Ainsworth placed it in the congregation, of which the elders were but a part.

The Savoy 'Declaration.'

In 1657 Cromwell gave his 'consent' to a petition to Parliament that the polity of the Independents might be the Church polity of the nation. Toleration, however, was to be granted to those who differed from them in worship and discipline, but who agreed in doctrine. All others were to be without 'protection,' disqualified for holding any office, and 'incapable of receiving the public maintenance, or appointed for the ministry.' Two hundred delegates met at the Savoy, under the presidency of 'the Dissenting Brethren,' and made a 'Declaration' of their 'Faith and Principles.' They adopted without change the Westminster Confession, excepting only what related to discipline. The Presbyterians had never been able to establish Presbyterianism.

sanctioned by Cromwell ; but before they met, Cromwell had passed away, and with him all hopes of Independency becoming the established religion of England. CH

Out of the Independents sprang another sect, as the Independents had sprung from the Presbyterians. This was the Baptists, who at the Westminster Assembly do not appear to have had even one representative. Yet throughout the interregnum between the first and second Charles, they were the only party, besides the Presbyterians and Independents, that had complete toleration. There were Baptists, or, as they were called Anabaptists, in Germany long before this, but the genealogy of the English Baptists is not fairly traceable to them. It is true, there had been Baptists in England since the Reformation. Henry VIII. issued a proclamation against all the false opinions of 'Anabaptists and Sacramentarians.' Joan of Kent is said to have been of this sect, and in the judgment of the martyr Philpot, 'well worthy to be burnt.' Cecil begged of the King that the bishopric of Rochester should be given to John Knox, that he might be 'a whetstone to quicken and sharpen the Bishop of Canterbury,' and that he might be 'a great confounder of the Anabaptists lately springing up in Kent.' These Anabaptists were 'free-willers' and Pelagians. They denied predestination and original sin. They refused to baptize children because children had no sin, and therefore did not need regeneration. Strype mentions Henry Hart as the chief of these free-willers. John Bradford wrote against them as 'enemies of God's grace.' These Anabaptists had their doctrines from Germany, and were probably extinct before the beginning of the seventeenth century. Rise Bapt

The English Baptists originated among the Brownists of Amsterdam. The first was John Smyth,* who, being con- bapti self.

* There is a curious tract in Sion College, called 'The Differences of the Churches of the Separation, containing a Description of the Leiturgie and Ministerie of the Visible Church, etc. By John Smyth.' 1608.

Bible in churches. Spiritual worship is from the heart, and not from printed books. He applies this also to singing psalms, which should not be done with the book before our eyes. He denounces the 'triformed presbyterie'

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vinced of the necessity of adult baptism, and having to baptize him, baptized himself. This was the all that is absurd, but Smyth was logically right in his principles of the Brownists. They rejected the authority of the Church of England. They denied it to the Church. From this it followed that all the ordinances of that Church were invalid. They re-ordained their ministers. Why should they not re-baptize? The first Independent Church in England had a schism similar to that in the Netherlands. Henry Jacob was succeeded in his pastorate by John Lathrop, and in his time the congregation divided, of whom formed the first of the Baptist denomination in London.*

The Baptist
controversy.

Though the Baptists do not appear to have had a representative in the Westminster Assembly, yet that Assembly appointed a special committee to consider the arguments that might be urged against the baptizing of children. This committee John Tombes, who held the Rectory of 'Gabriel's Fanchurch,' addressed 'An Exercitation Concerning Infant Baptism.' The Exercitation was not answered by the Assembly, but it was the beginning of a long controversy, which embraced the many questions that are involved in the denial of infant baptism. Tombes and his followers were all Calvinists. This kept the controversy within certain limits, and gave it some peculiarities which it would not otherwise have had. The first general argument against infant baptism is drawn from the fact, that children are not as people of mature years, are or may be members of the kingdom of God. The Arminian who made the human family co-extensive with the human family, did not

translation 'a grievous sin,' because it revealed the covenant of grace to the Gentiles before the fulness of time. He puts all translations of the Bible in the same category with apocryphal books. He thinks the division of chapters and verses wicked. It is quite

set up at Wandsworth. Proposed by Brook, in his 'Puritans,' that this was John Smyth of Amsterdam came an Arminian in doctrine. Evans makes him probably the General Baptists; but

to admit all children to baptism, for all being redeemed, they might receive the seal of the covenant of redemption. If they did not keep the conditions of the covenant, the blame rested with themselves. So far they came short of what God intended for them. The Calvinist, believing in a family elected or chosen out of the human race, must set a limit to the persons who receive the sign of the covenant, in consequence of the limit already set to the persons in the covenant. It was one of the vices of Calvinism that it could never distinguish between the conditional and the unconditional. A covenant must be limited to a fixed number of persons, and the promises of its fulfilment on God's part must be absolute. Baptism was to be administered to those in the covenant. But how are they to be known? Believers or persons professing to believe is the nearest approach that we can make. But some children must also be in the covenant. We cannot divide them into believers and unbelievers. The only distinction we can make here is between the children of those who believe and of those who do not believe. Hence the conclusion, that the children of believers are universally to be baptized. To this Tombes answered, that there was no command in Scripture for baptizing any children whatever, that the children of believers were not more holy than the children of unbelievers, that the Gospel covenant was not the same as the covenant with Abraham, and that even in that covenant all the children of Abraham, as his sons by Keturah and his descendants by Ishmael, did not receive the inheritance, even though some, as the sons of Ishmael, received the sign. Baptism, said Tombes, is not to be confounded with any Old Testament rite, nor the Gospel covenant to be interpreted by the terms of any other covenant.

The arguments in detail for baptizing infants were, that baptism is to us what circumcision was to the Jews; that if the sign of the covenant is not given to children, the grace is more restricted under the New Testament than under the old: but the words of the promise are, 'to you and to your

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Evils arising
from Infant
Baptism.

believer, then the children are holy. Tombes and his followers said, that infant baptism did not in all things take the place of circumcision, but that if denying the sign of the covenant to children was a restriction of grace under the New Testament, the same restriction of grace under the Lord's Supper was a restriction of grace also. The Jews gave the passover to children. As to the Lord's Supper, it was not only to believers but to their seed, so that it is their children's on the same condition as theirs. These conditions, as we may learn from the text, are faith and repentance. To be *holy* by covenant is not a sufficient reason for baptism. The *elect* of God, Tombes said, who are not yet called to the profession of Christianity, are holy by covenant, but they are not on that account to be baptized. As to St. Paul's argument for the children of believers, he is not speaking of *faithfulness*, but of what Tombes calls 'matrimonial holiness,' where one parent was an unbeliever and the other a Christian. They were not on that account to dissolve the marriage, but the children were 'holy,' that is, they were not to be baptized. The baptism of infants, Tombes said, did not arise from Christ's institution, nor with the practice of John the Baptist and the Apostles of Jesus. Christ's command was to preach the Gospel and then baptize. John the Baptist and the disciples of Jesus preached repentance and baptism to believers. Lodovico Vives and Walafridus Strabo are quoted as having proved that infant baptism was not practised in the age succeeding the Apostles. In the New Testament there is some mention of it as resting on an unwritten tradition, or in imitation of Jewish circumcision. It is not to be compared with giving infants the Lord's Supper and other religious inventions that went under the name of Apostolic tradition. It has given rise to many other human devices, as confirmation, confession of faith before receiving the Lord's Supper, and 'Church covenants,' as they are practised in New England. It has occasioned many errors of judgment, leading men to believe that it confers grace, that it is necessary to salvation, and that it is a sin to neglect it.

whose parentage is uncertain. It occasions many unnecessary disputes, such as those concerning the children of persons excommunicated, apostates, persons who are not members of a gathered Church, or whose ancestors were believers, though their parents were unbelievers. In the dark times of the Papacy, the same men who opposed invoking the saints and other superstitions of Rome, opposed also the baptizing of infants. Those who practise it cannot agree upon the grounds on which they do it, while it defeats the end for which baptism was instituted, which is, that the person baptized thereby declares himself a disciple of Christ.

During the Session of the Westminster Assembly, some of the most eminent members preached every morning at the Abbey Church. They mostly took for their subjects the principal doctrines of Christianity. Stephen Marshall preached a series of sermons on the sacraments. The last was on baptizing children. The preacher began by affirming that this was the practice of the primitive Church. Justin Martyr, who lived in the second century, disputes concerning the different conditions of children, the baptized and the unbaptized. Irenæus, who was contemporary with Justin, says, 'Christ came to save all through Himself, I say, all who through Him are born again unto God,—infants and little children and boys.' By the words 'born again,' the old commentators show that Irenæus, after the example of Christ and His Apostles, meant baptism. Origen, who lived in the beginning of the third century, says, 'The Church received this tradition of baptizing infants from the Apostles.' In his Homily on Leviticus, that same Father says, that, 'according to the custom of the Church,' he grants baptism to be administered to little children,' and again, on Luke xiv., 'Little children are baptized for the remission of their sins.' Gregory Nazianzen calls baptism 'a sign for those entering on the career of life;' afterwards, indeed, he seems to limit it to cases of necessity. Cyprian, in his epistle to Fidus, who denied that infants should be baptized before the

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Augustine and approved. The same judgment is expressed by Ambrose. The first strenuous opponent of infant baptism, Marshall says, was Baltazar Paccominitanus, in Luth. To him succeeded the German Anabaptists, who were sectaries after they have departed from the Church and again into new sects. This way of speaking of the Church was common with the Presbyterians, who did not then expect that there was a time when they, too, would be numbered with the sects. Baptists were a peculiar thorn to the Presbyterian, who were carrying out, in their way, the old Puritan project of 'rooting up every plant which the right hand of God had not planted.' They persuaded the people to forsake the regular ministry, and not to receive the sacraments in churches, denouncing all who had not been baptized as having been, for 'limbs of Antichrist.'

Marshall said much against the Baptists for putting children of believers in the same condition with the children of Turks and Indians. Either, he argued, they are saved, if they are without original sin and saved in the Pelagian doctrine of universal grace; or, what seemed to be worse, if they are not, if they may be saved that die in infancy, even if they are children of Turks or Indians. In this last case there is no covenant outside of the covenant, where God has not promised His grace should be found. Such were the alternatives to which Calvinist, he reduced the Calvinistic Baptists.

Infants mem-
bers of the
Church.

His position is, that infants of believers are within the covenant of grace. They belong to Christ's body, they are members of His kingdom, His family, and they should be signed with the seal of the covenant. It was objected that, under the old covenant, women did not receive the seal. To this it was answered that they were circumcised in the males. The covenant of grace has been the same under all dispensations and ages. It was the will of God that infants should be admitted to all the external benefits of that covenant when Christ came, and why should their privileges be less now? He is come? The children of believers have the inward

said, 'Suffer them, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.' CH
The mere want of an express command is not reckoned a sufficient reason for not baptizing children. We have no express command for many things the propriety and moral right of which we never doubt. In the New Testament there is no law concerning the forbidden degrees of marriage, no law against polygamy, no law for keeping the first day of the week as the weekly Sabbath, no law for admitting women to the Lord's Supper, nor for baptizing the children of believers after they have come to mature years. Christ's command to go and 'teach all nations, baptizing them,' was not, Marshall says, the first institution of baptism. It was but the enlargement of the Apostles' commission, which hitherto was confined to the Jews, but is now extended to the Gentiles. Teach first, and then baptize, is the law in the conversion of the heathen; but why should we apply it to the children that are born in the Church, who, as members of a corporation, have the birth privileges of the family of God? The Baptists' argument is that they are unbelievers, and, therefore, they are not to be baptized. Marshall's answer is, that if they are to be classed with unbelievers, they cannot be saved. Let the Baptists admit that infants may be saved, and he will prove, by their own arguments, that they may be baptized.

Tombes took Marshall's sermon for the Assembly's answer to his 'Exercitation.' He replied to it immediately in 'An Examén of the Sermon of Mr. Stephen Marshall.' Supposing, he said, it were true that the baptizing of infants had been in the Church for 1500 years, could not the same be said of Episcopacy, keeping Easter, the religious use of the cross, and some other things,—all of which the Assembly had just laid aside? He reviews the testimonies of the Fathers that had been quoted by Marshall. It was urged, indeed Marshall had admitted, that the treatise quoted as Justin Martyr's was not his. It was not to be denied that it testified to the fact of infant baptism. But then children were not baptized because they were children of believers. Tombs
plies
shall.

CHAP. IV. As to Irenæus, he wrote in Greek, but we have only in a Latin translation. How, then, can we be certain of his meaning? After the very passage quoted by Marshall, these words follow: 'Openly affirm the tradition of the Apostles concerning the baptism of infants against Anabaptistical impiety.' Could Irenæus have said this? It is the addition of Feverdientius, 'the ignorant monk,' as Rivet calls him, who corrupted the text of Irenæus. But even if the passage quoted by Marshall is genuine, its reference to baptism depends upon the supposition that it was the custom of the Apostles to call baptism a new birth. Tombes denies that this was a custom of the Apostles; and, moreover, he says that in this place the words and scope of Irenæus show that he was not speaking of infant baptism. We are in the same condition as to the writings of Origen. They were written in Greek, but we have only depend on the Latin version of Ruffinus. Concerning this version, Erasmus said that no man could know what Origen was reading Origen or Ruffinus. There are passages in the writings of the Pelagians which could only have been put there by the great Pelagian controversy in the time of Augustine. Gregory Nazianzen, indeed, recommended children to be baptized lest they should miss the grace of the sacrament, but he gave it as the opinion of others that they should be baptized till they were capable of instruction. Cyprian, too, in his epistle, is clear for infant baptism. 'He says enough, and more than enough, unless he had spoken to be understood.' His testimony of sixty-six bishops is called the rock-head of infant baptism. On him Augustine and the Council of Nicaea relied for what they called Apostolic tradition. They argued that infants that they might give them saving grace; that the 'darkness of those that were counted the greatest of the world.' Judaism had not yet been weeded out of the Church. Infant baptism was established by the authority of Augustine. Yet Walafridus Strabo proves from Augustine's own writings and his own long continued practice with a catechumen, that the baptizing of infants was

tizing children was to wash away their original sin; and in this he found an argument against the Pelagians, who denied original sin. Tombes doubts, however, if Augustine really baptized children, except they were dying, or with a view to cure them of bodily sicknesses. It was certainly, he said, not because they were the children of believers that Augustine baptized them. Nothing of this can be found in the ancient Fathers. It was objected against Augustine, in his own day, that faith should precede baptism as a condition. He proved by the most certain logic that children had faith, for by the sacrament they were made believers.

Tombes expressed his surprise that there should be nothing for infant baptism in Eusebius, Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Athanasius, or Epiphanius. The questions put to baptized persons proved, he said, that in the Greek Church infant baptism was not common. Then we have some strange facts, which are matters of history. Constantine the Great, though the son of Helena, a Christian queen, was not baptized till he was an old man. Gregory Nazianzen, the son of a Christian bishop, was not baptized till he had reached manhood. Chrysostom, though born of Christian parents, and educated under Miletus, a bishop, was not baptized till he was twenty-one years of age. In 315, the Council of Neocæsarea determined that a pregnant woman might be baptized, because the baptism did not reach the child. From this canon, Balsamon and Zonaras infer that an infant could not be baptized. The Greek Church, says Tombes, rejected the baptism of infants for many hundreds of years. And even in the Latin Church there were opposers of infant baptism before Paccominitanns. In 1030 the great Berengarius, who opposed the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, rejected also the baptizing of young children. In the next century, according to Bernard, it was denied by the Cathari, Albigenses, and other witnesses for truth against the Papacy. It was also reckoned among the heresies of Petrus Cluniacensis.

Marshall and Tombes were both conscious of the value of

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CHAP. IV. dren were in the covenant, as explained in the pre-

— thee and thy seed.' Tombes said the covenant of grace was not made with the seed of believers. St. Paul's interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant is that God did not justify the seed of Abraham merely because they were his seed. All the children of Israel that are of Israel, neither because they are the seed of Abraham are they children.* We have no more to say concerning God's election of a believer's infant than of Pagan's infant. That all children are in the same covenant would have been admitted by Cyprian's sixty-six bishops who would have given grace and baptism to them all. God may take children into His covenant without requiring them to be baptized. There is no necessity that all who are in the covenant of grace have the seal of the covenant. They may be in the condition of women under the old law, who were not circumcised actually, nor even, as Marshall says, virtually. But if they were sealed virtually in the manner that the elect are, are not children also have the seal of the covenant virtually? Can the parents without actual baptism? It is as much as to say that to worship to baptize children under the gospel as to give women the seal of the covenant under the law. The condition of Moses. As a Calvinist to Calvinists, Tombes said upon his opponents for applying to all children the promises of the covenant of grace, which are applicable only to the elect. This was done by the Assembly of Divines in the very words which Marshall had used. It was done in words still more express when, as conformists of the Church of England, they had subscribed to the seal of baptism in the Prayer Book. Their answer was, they could not distinguish between the elect and the non-elect children, they used charity in their judgment, taking them all for the elect. Tombes asked them how, as believers in the indefectibility of grace, they could speak of children who were not elect as being under the covenant. Could they fall from it? or are we to conclude that they were predestinated without faith or works, which is pure Antinomianism. The Church of God Tombes says is not a corporation.

The seal of the covenant not to be given to all that are in the covenant.

Marshall replied to Tombes in 'A Defence of Infant Baptism.' The arguments from Scripture were exhausted on both sides. Antiquity alone remained. Infant baptism, Marshall said, had been in the Church for 1500 years, but Episcopacy, in the sense of bishops as a distinct order from presbyters, had not been in the Church for 1500 years. The religious use of the cross is of still later origin. That there was a doubt about the genuineness of the treatise ascribed to Justin Martyr was not denied, but it was certainly very ancient. Tombes did not dispute its testimony to the facts. He only said the reason of baptizing children was not their being in the covenant in virtue of their being children of believers. Irenæus may have been corrupted by Feverdientius, but there are no grounds for believing that the passage in question is not the genuine text. Marshall says he is convinced that it is, because the Greeks usually called baptism a new birth. Vossius, in reference to this very passage, says, that to call baptism regeneration was a form of speech common to the ancients. The doubts which Tombes had raised concerning the testimonies from Origen were equally without foundation. He had no tangible evidence that they were not Origen's. There were, indeed, passages in that treatise against the Pelagian heresy, but that heresy may have existed before Pelagius. Justin Martyr refuted the heresy of the Arians long before Arius was known. All that we can conclude from Gregory Nazianzen is, that infants were baptized in his time, but that he himself recommended delay except when the child was dying. Tertullian persuaded people to delay baptism, yet he intimates that in his time it was the custom to baptize children. Moreover, he speaks of the children of believers as appointed to holiness, though not made *holy* till they were born of water and of the Spirit. The testimonies of Cyprian and Augustine were not questioned.

Tombes had expressed his surprise that, if infant baptism were of such antiquity, there should be nothing of it in Eusebius, Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Athanasius, and

CHAP. IV. to children was not of such antiquity as to be ref

Athanasius
and Infant
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these authors. As to Ignatius, if anything were from him, Tombes would certainly dispute it, because of the uncertainty of the text. Clemens Alexandrinus had much to say about baptism of children. What he has to say about baptism of the baptizing of adults converted from Paganism. In Athanasius we have the testimonies which Tombes could not find. He says, 'the dipping of the infant quite under the thrice, and raising of it up again, doth signify the death of Christ and His resurrection on the third day.' Athanasius asks Antiochus how it is to be known that he was baptized and received the Holy Ghost when *he was* a child. Again, he says, 'Now your children are holy, it is manifest that the infants of believers which are baptized are spotted and faithful enter into the kingdom.' Epiphanius says, 'Circumcision had its time until the great circumcision came, that is, the washing of the new birth, as is commanded to every one.' It appears from Balsamon that the questions which were put to adult believers were also put to children. Marshall will not say that this was done, but he thinks the fact is evident. Tombes mentions the case of several distinguished men in the early Church who were not baptized in infancy, though their parents were Christians. Marshall answers that baptism was often deferred, and for causes which called forth severe rebuke from the Greek Fathers. Sometimes it was done in the case of Christ, who was not baptized till He was thirty years of age. Sometimes it was deferred that it might be administered by an eminent bishop or in some particular place. More frequently, however, baptism was deferred in order of belief that it washed away all sins, but that forgiveness of sins committed after baptism was not so easily obtained. It is common to say, even of a notorious sinner, 'Let

Why Baptism
was sometimes
deferred.

what he likes; he is not baptized.' Constantine deferred his baptism that he might be baptized in the Jordan. He did not prove that his mother was a Christian when he was born. Gregory Nazianzen was sent to Athens to

them 'Hellenes,' but does not say a word of their religion. The case of baptizing the woman with child mentioned by Balsamon, and the decision of the Neocæsarean Council, Marshall explains as the case of a woman converted from Paganism, whose child was not yet born. Our case is that of the children of women who are believers. Balsamon makes a distinction between infants unborn for whom no man can be surety in baptism, and infants after they are born. In his gloss on that canon, he relates a story of children coming from a Christian country who were taken by Scythians and sold to the Romans. The question was raised if these children had been baptized. Some argued that they must have been, as they came from a Christian country. Others recommended baptizing them, because of the want of positive evidence that they had been baptized. On both sides the custom of infant baptism is evidently implied. The Council of Carthage pronounced an anathema against those who refused baptism to new-born infants, and Photius quotes an Imperial constitution, in which it is appointed that all baptized Samaritans and Greeks should be punished if they did not bring their wives and their children to holy baptism. As to the Berengarians, Waldenses, Poor Men of Lyons, Albigenses, Catharists, and Peter Brussians, Marshall denies that they opposed the baptism of infants. This was a charge made by their enemies, the foundation of which was that they opposed the notion of grace coming through the sacraments *ex opere operato* as taught in the Church of Rome.

Tombes was removed from London to Bewdley, in Herefordshire. In 1649 he had a public disputation on infant baptism with Richard Baxter, who was then at Kidderminster. The substance of what Baxter said was afterwards published in his 'Plain Scripture Proof of Infant Church Membership and Baptism.' Baxter quoted all the Fathers that had been quoted by Marshall, adding the case of Hyginus, Bishop of Rome, who lived about the year 137. He was the fourth bishop before Innocent, and was at Rome

CHAP. IV. says, that these men, who lived so near the time of the Apostles, could have been ignorant of what was the law in the Apostles' days. All antiquity, he says, first taught that believers' infants received remission of sins by infant baptism.

The Baptist
heresies.

Baxter challenges Tombes to name one man who stood against infant church-membership, from the creation to about five hundred years ago. It was the law of God, a dispensation, and if Christ changed the law, it is as strange that there is not a word in the Scriptures to show the change. There was no necessity for a command to baptize infants. The right of infants to church-membership stood unrepealed. The point of baptizing infants, Baxter says, is in itself of comparatively little moment, not so the grounds on which it rests. It is to deny any part in the covenant of grace, unless, like the Antinomians, we confound that covenant with God's election. It is to deny the interest which parents have in their children, to make a covenant in their behalf. It is to deny the common which God has made holy. The Baptists, according to Baxter, set up a new model for the visible Church. They forbid little children to be brought to Christ, though they deny them entrance into the visible Church, though they have but little hope of their being admitted to the inheritance. Infants are Christ's disciples *de jure*, as a king is a king before he is crowned. Christ's command was that all should be baptized as soon as they were disciples, and it is therefore sinful to defer the baptism of young children. Baxter said that the Baptists broke the sixth commandment when they baptized in cold weather, and the seventh when the subjects of baptism were without clothing. Infant baptism he regarded as the opening of the flood-gates of licentiousness. He never knew the meaning of schism till the rise of the Anabaptists. With them he imputed all horrid opinions, and from them began all the errors of Separatists, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians.

always a question but vaguely answered, what is the real benefit which children receive from baptism? The Calvinists said that as children of believers they were already in the covenant; to give them the seal could not benefit those who were not elect; and, strictly speaking, it could add nothing to the security of those who were elect. The usual answer was, that to elect infants baptism conveyed grace, but as to the non-elect, we used the language of charity. This was the general answer, but it took various forms. Thomas Bedford, a friend of Baxter's, and a neighbouring minister, had come to the conclusion that in every case baptism conveyed saving grace to infants. At first he had taken up the belief that a sacrament was a visible sign, a word to the eye, as preaching was a word to the ear. He read Dr. Burges on regeneration, and was convinced that in baptism grace was actually conferred on elect infants. Meeting afterwards with what Davenant and Ward said on that subject, he found no necessity for restraining the efficacy of grace to the elect. A man not predetermined to salvation may have ordination to eternal life for a time. Falling away from this grace is not the apostasy of saints. According to Davenant, the first grace given was the remission of original sin. Out of this proceeded regeneration, justification, and adoption. During the condition of infancy it was a state of salvation. But this regeneration, justification, and adoption were not the same as the regeneration, justification, and adoption that afterwards came by faith. Bedford did not see the necessity of having two regenerations, one for those who died in infancy, and one for the children who lived and believed. He thought it better to settle the matter at once in the ordinance, and say that every child was really regenerated, that is, made actually holy, and endowed with the new heart which God promises His elect. Baxter answered, that if the new heart was given to all, then all must be saved. Bedford, as a Calvinist, would be compelled to admit this, but he preferred saying that the *new heart* or actual holiness is given to many

CHAP. IV.

Dr. Featly's
'Dippers
Dipt.'

on the fulfilment of certain conditions, to give men-
ness of sins. It is a moral instrument, rather than
sical, and conveys the means of obtaining the grace
vation, rather than the actual grace itself.

The year preceding the controversy between Tom
Marshall, Dr. Featly, who had been Rector of La
published 'The Dippers Dipt; or, the Anabaptists
and Plunged over Head and Ears.' Dr. Featly was
the divines appointed to meet in the Assembly of
minster. He had been chaplain to Archbishop Abbot
was willing to promote the reforms suggested by Arch-
Ussher. After the bishops and their supporters with-
from the Assembly, Featly remained, but soon after
imprisoned for reporting their proceedings. He was
vinist in doctrine, and retained the old Church of Eng-
veneration for Calvin, whom he called 'the bright
taper of Geneva.' His book contained an account of
putation which he had with some Baptists in South-
and a history of the various sects of Anabaptists in
many. The arguments for infant baptism are the same
Marshall's. He denied the necessity of dipping, and
from the meaning of the word *baptize*.*

Jeremy Tay-
lor on Infant
Baptism.

In 1651, when the Baptists had become a sect of some
portance, Jeremy Taylor, in his retreat in Wales, published
'A Discourse of Baptism,' to help, as he said, the solution
the question 'by which the ark of the Church was washed
shaken.' The first part treated of the institution and
of baptism. The second was 'A consideration of the
of the Church in Baptizing Infants of Believing Parents
the Practice justified.' Taylor, as an Arminian, was
under any necessity to limit baptism to the children of be-
lieving parents. Yet he is content to carry the argument
no further than this. They are the children of the

* Featly's book has some curious pictures of men in *puris naturalibus*, and 'virgins of Sion' undergoing the process of dipping, with representations of fifteen kinds of Anabaptists. These wicked sectaries shown down by the civil magistrate. He says that the German Anabaptists had *spiritual marriages* of men with women, then committed

and, therefore, not less capable of being in covenant with God than the children of the Jews. He dwells chiefly on the great importance of baptism, untouched by the difficulty which perplexed the Calvinist about the non-elect children. If they are baptized they are saved, for the new birth comes by the descent of the Holy Ghost in baptism. It is not broadly stated that the unbaptized are lost, yet the argument points to this inference. Nature, says Taylor, cannot bring us to heaven. Grace alone can do that, and this grace we have in baptism. Infants have the punishment of sin, and, therefore, sin is imputed to them. By baptism comes sanctification. 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven,' is true also, Taylor says, of young children. Baptism is the means which God has appointed for the salvation of infants, and for us to neglect to baptize them is to neglect their salvation.*

* The Baptist controversy, dating it from 1642 and ending it in 1674, consists of a very large number of tracts and sermons on both sides. 'A Treatise of the Vanity of Childish-Baptizing, by A. R., 1642,' was answered by Dr. Featly in the 'Dippers Dipt.' The argument was addressed to the clergy of the Church of England, asking how, as Calvinists, they could pronounce children regenerated in baptism, and then, perhaps, twenty years after, beseech them to be converted, as if those once-made 'members of Christ' could afterwards become 'limbs of the devil.' The author said that the clergy had to make strange shifts to maintain this, and yet defend themselves against the charge of Arminianism. Samuel Richardson and Henry Denne replied to Featly. Denne was in prison in 'Lord Peter's house' at the same time as Featly. He asks if Dr. Featly could say of his parishioners in Lambeth, or Mr. Marshall of his in Finchamfield, that they were believers, and so their children entitled to believers' baptism. He spoke of the Church, in Luther's day, as having travailed to bring forth the doctrine of justifica-

Tombes' side, and were answered by Thomas Blake and others. In 1674, Henry Danvers wrote a treatise in defence of the Baptist doctrines, which was chiefly collected out of Tombes. He said that infant baptism was not practised for the three first centuries, and was not enjoined till four hundred years after Christ. It was first decreed by the Melevitan Council in the fifth century. Danvers also said that Adrian, Bishop of Corinth, in the seventh century, was accused by a Bishop of Rome of refusing to baptize infants; that Cresconius opposed Augustine on this question, that the Donatists did not practise infant baptism, and that it was not approved of by Hincmar, Bishop of Laudan, and Peter Abelard the Schoolman. Danvers was answered by Obadiah Wills, who found him not too correct in matters of history.

Many of the Baptists in the seventeenth century took up wild doctrines, and several of them were Fifth Monarchy men. Dr. Evans speaks of some who argued from Heb. v. 12, 13, that laying on of hands was a part of baptism, and that, unless the minister put his hands on the head of

Chil
save
tism

CHAP. IV.

The sects not
tolerated.

The Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists three tolerated sects during the Long Parliament Protectorate of Cromwell. But there were others which were not tolerated. Some of these had just risen into being, and others that had been carefully suppressed rose again with renewed strength. We set aside the exaggerated accounts of these sects given by some Presbyterian writers as Edwards, in his '*Gangræna*,' and Pagitt in his '*Heresiography*.' We also set aside Baxter's classification, which makes a sect of the followers of Harry Vane, and another of the followers of Sterry.* Ranters and Seekers† must also be stricken from the list of sects. Either they never existed, or were names applied to parties otherwise named.

The Family
of Love.

Of these sects, the least known, the most remarkable, the most maligned was the Family of Love. Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation against them, commanding the clergy to give all assistance to the archbishops and bishops for their suppression. Search was to be made for their books that they might be burnt, and all persons found possessing these books after this proclamation were to be imprisoned. They are described as a dangerous sect because it is one of their principles, that before a man speaks he will deny anything when the denial is an advantage to them.

communion with those who had merely been dipped. Vavasour Powell, 'the apostle of Wales,' one of the *Tryers*, always laid on his hands when he baptized, and when he visited the sick he anointed them with oil. Henry Denne is mentioned by Edwards in the '*Gangræna*.' He was an Arminian, and therefore not a *tolerated* Baptist. He said that Christ died for all, Judas as well as Peter, which, in those days, was a fearful heresy. He often preached in the isle of Ely, 'an island,' Edwards says, 'full of errors and seditions.' He was to preach one day at St. Ives, but 'the Committee gave order against it, and being not

* On the Vanities and Sterility. Baxter made the poor pun.

† John Goodwin described the Seekers as 'A generation they do God a most choice overlooking all that is with pretence of looking after higher, more mysterious, —as if God, who hath spoken Son, were yet to reveal some greater import.'—*Cata-Baptism*.

Richard Baxter says, 'That our Scripture was that present miracles were of faith; that our ministry without authority, and of

The Family of Love was not indigenous to England. They were properly a species of Anabaptists, originally imported from Holland. They began with Henry Nicholas, of Amsterdam. The name of the sect always suggested the transition from heavenly love to earthly, and it was generally said that the leaders of the sect were more under the influence of the latter than the former. But this is not the account which is given in their books. After the death of Henry Nicholas, Tobias, 'a Fellow Elder in the Household of Love,' wrote 'Mirabilia Opera Dei; Certain Wonderful Works of God which happened to H. N., even from his youth, and how the God of Heaven hath united Himself with him, and raised up His gracious word in him, and how He hath chosen and sent him to be a minister of His gracious word.' The story in this book is simple, yet full of strange religious interest. Henry Nicholas was the child of devout Roman Catholic parents. In the eighth year of his age, the same year in which Maximilian was made Roman Emperor, the father of Henry Nicholas was one evening exhorting his family to give thanks to God for His wonderful grace. 'What grace?' the son asked. He was answered, 'The sufferings of Christ as set forth daily in the service of the Mass.' The son answered that he knew that, but if Christ had died to make us righteous, why were we not righteous? If Christ died to restore us, why is there no evidence of restoration? His father told him that he must not dig deep into the works of God. The next time that the elder Nicholas went to confession he took his son Henry with him, who told the priest what he had said to his father about the need of a righteousness within us. The priest said that the boy had 'strange whimsies in his head.' He recommended the father to chastise him, and drive away such madness. Henry begged of the priest not to speak such words. He was anxious to learn, anxious to understand the meaning of what he was taught. The priest was pleased with his quiet manner, and allowed a further conversation when Henry told him that we had not under-

CHAP. IV. The priest did not know what to answer. He
 — another priest, who spoke of the child's foolishness. The
 priest told Henry that he had committed wellnigh
 the greatest sins. He had searched and digged
 secrets of God, and he feared the punishment would
 fire. The child cried, 'Oh that I and all men might
 given our sins!' He never again spoke of the su
 he had reached years of maturity. He kept his tho
 himself, but devoutly attended the Mass, and be
 intense lover of the services and ceremonies of the
 Catholic Church.

Henry Nicho-
 las made one
 with the
 Deity.

Soon after this Henry had a strange dream. He
 great mountain, which surrounded him on every side.
 mountain was covered with resplendent light, and
 illuminated with its glory. Then it dissolved its be
 his being. This was the completion of righteousness
 him. He was made one with God. It was then
 to him that he had many fellow-servants upon th
 In the thirty-ninth year of his age he had further a
 open revelations. God's love was revealed to him a
 never felt it before. He was called to the serv
 minister or preacher of this love, and it was told h
 'the Lord had prepared and ordained for his a
 Daniel Eldad and Tobias.' These continued alw
 him. Soon after this revelation they were warned
 that place, that they might escape from bloodthin
 They went into the land of the East, and dwelt i
 called Pietas. This seems a mystical journey, in wh
 lose Henry Nicholas. The disciples are called to a
 age, which also seems to be an allegory. They
 forty-nine days, eating no kind of food or creature
 life, and drinking no wine or strong drink, but en
 ing to fulfil the will of the Lord in all righteousness
 the first six days they travelled with joyful minds, an
 sixth they came 'to the view of the land of uprigh
 which they saw, as in a glass, the righteousness

that the flesh lusted after, but they lived in fasting and self-denial. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper the bread became the very body of Christ. They were united to Christ and made one with Him, as a bride is united to the bridegroom. One day in their journey, there came a still soft voice by which they were enlightened in Christ. They participated in the living Godhead of the Son. God gave them ordinances, as He gave to Moses in Horeb. They were made members and priests of the Family of Love.

Henry Nicholas and his disciples professed that they were specially called by God to introduce a new era in the Church. They did not form a sect but a society. They conformed to the established religion wherever they sojourned. Their business was to teach the love of God to man, and that all men should love each other. Now was to begin the reign of the Spirit of love, when men were to be in actual possession of that righteousness which in other ages was spoken of but not realized. It is said that the Familists were a sect of Anabaptists, but it is uncertain if they observed sacraments at all, or if they attached any importance to external ordinances. The baptism for which they looked was a baptism of the Spirit, and the Supper they commemorated was a communion of the Holy Ghost. The letter was of no value to them compared with the Spirit. The literal is so little noticed, or so frequently turned into a spiritual meaning, that it has been supposed they even denied the historical statements of the New Testament. The crucifixion of Christ was the crucifying of the old man; the resurrection, our rising to newness of life; and Christ returning to judgment, our governing the natural man with righteousness and equity. Angels and devils are explained as good and bad men with their virtues and vices. The seven devils which possessed Mary Magdalene were the seven deadly sins.*

* The books of Henry Nicholas, translated from Base-Almagne, are in the British Museum. They are called

the Kingdom of God; 'The Proverbs of H. N.' There is no doubt that Nicholas claimed to be sent from

CHAP. IV.

Rise of the
Quakers.

During this period another sect arose, whose have some affinity with those of the Family of Love was and is a purely English sect, yet its origin was caused by causes similar to those which produced the doctrine of the Familists. Henry Nicholas and his disciples were the rejection of external ordinances by the undue influence attached to their literal observance. George Fox and his disciples sprang from a similar recoil against mere ritualism, which had reached its climax in the Baptist controversy about the necessity of baptism. The Quakers are descended from the Baptists. They protested against the old leaven of literalism which was manifested in the Church of England when he re-baptized himself. The steeples against which George Fox cried out as temples of idolatry, were the churches of England when in possession of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, and the doctrines of these sects were the doctrines which he rejected with all the vehemence of an old Hebrew prophet. He sounded his trumpet voice against the servants of Baal. He cast down Laud and his priests. They had rejected the Scriptures and their pretensions to be channels of grace and of the pipes of the Divine favour, but these sects were still clinging to the dead letter of a book. They were still bound up in ordinances, to some extent unconscious how much they were retaining of what they really supposed they had rejected when they put down the bishops. The churches were their idol temple, and the Bible the idol which they worshipped. 'We have a *sure word* of prophecy,' said the minister of the church at Nottingham: 'it is the Scripture by which all doctrines, religion, and opinions are to be tried.' George Fox was present. The spirit within him could not be restrained. He cried out, 'It was not the Scriptures, but the Holy Spirit by which holy men gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried.' That Spirit, he said, led him to all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures, and yet rejected the Holy Ghost. They rejected the bright and morning star.

This error of trusting to the mere letter of the Bible, Fox detected in every detail of belief and practice. There might be external worship in the Church; there might be preaching, sacraments, sacrifices, but what are these if there is no Spirit in them? God dwells not in temples made with hands. It is not the water baptism which saves, but the answer of a good conscience. It is not ceremonies which justify, nor even belief in an external Christ. It is Christ within, who is to us both justification and sanctification. The Quakers may have erred in refusing to worship in a church, or to celebrate the sacraments of the gospel, but their error was generated by an error in another direction. Theirs was a battle for the reality against the shadow, for the substance at the expense of the form, for the law in its spirit even at the risk of sacrificing the law in the letter. The Quaker was the only thorough opponent of the Churchman of Laud's school. The principle of that school was to take care of the external body or form of the Church, for in so doing we take care of the life of the Church. The Quaker said, let us make sure of the life or spirit, and the body or form will take care of itself.*

From the translations made at this time of Jacob Böhme's writings we may conclude that he had many readers, probably, disciples, in England. But it is difficult to determine with certainty if his followers in England could be definitely marked off from some other sects which resembled

* It is not to be denied that the Quakers at their beginning were extravagant. Richard Baxter says, 'The Quakers, when I go along London streets, say, Alas! poor man, thou art yet in darkness. They have oft come into the congregation, when I had liberty to preach Christ's Gospel, and cried out against me as a deceiver of the people. They have followed me home, crying out in the streets, The day of the Lord is coming, when thou shalt perish as a deceiver. They have stood in the market-place, and under my window,

are the fruits of thy ministry!" If they spoke to me with the greatest ignorance or nonsense, it was with as much fury and rage as if a bloody heart had opened in their faces. So that though I never hurt, or occasioned the hurt of one of them, that I knew of, their tremulous countenances told me what they would have done had I been in their power.' Those who know the peaceful Quaker of the present day, would say that Horace was wrong when he wrote:—

'Neque imbellem feroces
Progeniant aquilæ columbam.'

CHAP. IV. them. Under the vague names of Ranters, Seel-

lists, and Behmenists were included many persons who did not form distinct sects.* Among these we may include

Rosicrucians. Rosicrucians, whose doctrines were expounded by Francis Fludd, Doctor of Medicine. In his 'Mosaical Philosophy' Fludd enters upon a long argument to prove that natural philosophy explains the philosophy of the universe. This philosophy is properly theology, and therefore to be distinguished from that philosophy which begins from a knowledge of the material world. In other words, theology is *à priori* philosophy, and philosophy *à posteriori*. They meet finally and bear each other a mutual testimony. But without the Scriptures, which are inspired by God, and are to us, so to speak, the finger of God, we could never penetrate into the essence of being. The old poetical image found in the Bible, and received as probably true, that nature is a chain, the first and last link of which is fastened to the foot of the throne in heaven, while the lowest is fixed on the earth. — such is the labyrinth of being, how could we, without the tabernacle in clay, penetrate to the resplendent throne of that Being whose centre is everywhere, His circumference is nowhere? It is only because God has revealed Himself that we can explain the mysteries of the Creation and the creature.

God and Nature one.

There is but one universe, and with this universe there is but one God; but we must speak of God and the world, for they are yet distinct, and though but one world or universe, we must speak of the world which is aerial and that which is terrestrial. The first has neither beginning nor end. The second has both a beginning and an end. But the aerial world is eternal, which is the dwelling of the angels and blessed spirits. The terrestrial had a beginning, but will have no end. The world is the intermediary between the eternal and the temporal.

* The Behmenists, or disciples of Jacob Böhme, were chiefly represented in England by Dr. Pordage, Rector of Bradfield. He was charged before the High Court of the Bishop of London, and was committed to prison. His defence, were written by John Pordage, the minister of Bradfield. Pordage said that he had conversed with angels, and that he had seen the

poral. It is imaged by Jacob's ladder, which unites earth and heaven. From the eternal these angels pass to the temporal. Then these worlds, being one universe, are, as it were, a wheel within a wheel. The central mover, or eternal Spirit, is in the aerial. By it the temporal is quickened, so that, as the Scriptures say, God is all in all. This, Fludd maintains, is the true Christian philosophy. He is to demonstrate it, not only by the Bible, but by natural reason and by ocular demonstration. He is 'to confound infidelity, and turn men from Ethnic philosophy to the wisdom of God.' It is not easy to understand the 'ocular demonstration,' which seems to be simply that, as a weather-glass is full of air, and is rarified or condensed by the presence or absence of the sun, so the universe is full of spirit differently modified in different places and at different times. God, or Christ, who is the wisdom of God, is said to fill all. This had been explained by some as filling all virtually but not essentially. To which Fludd answered, that where Christ is virtually he must be essentially. All the passages of Scripture which are capable of what we may call a Pantheistic meaning are quoted and interpreted as teaching the immediate presence of God in all nature. Spirit is the catholic element of the universe. It is invoked by the prophet to come from the four winds, and vivify the dead bones. It is the breath which makes frost and snow; as it is said in Job, when God bloweth from the north the ice is made. It is God that thundereth,—that rolleth the thick clouds, and maketh the cedars of Libanus to bend. The philosophy of the Bible is put in opposition to the philosophy of the Heathen. But by Ethnic philosophy Fludd means the doctrine that God only works in the world by second causes, which at last he declares to have been the doctrine of Aristotle and his followers, but not of Plato, Empedocles, and Heraclitus.

Another sect which attained some notoriety in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Muggletonians. The story of Lodowick Muggleton has some resemblance to that

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The M
tonian

CHAP. IV.

The dispensation of the Spirit.

The 'Two Witnesses.'

religious, but some pious Puritans frequented the when young Lodowick heard them reproached with and sneers he felt in himself that these men were but those who reproached them. He was sober, honest, and had a very tender conscience. He sacrificed fair in life because he refused to sanction the lawfulness of giving money on pawns.* His religious feelings became after this early sacrifice, and, meeting with John a man of like spirit with himself, they believed that he commissioned them to be the 'Two Witnesses' of the Apocalypse. They addressed their books to Oliver Cromwell as well as messages from the 'Lord Protector of England' and the Lord Protector of England.† There had been, in the Bible, three commissions,—one by Moses and the Prophet, one by Christ and His Apostles, and one by John and Lodowick Muggleton. The giving of one commission implied the taking away of the one preceding it, and the gospel gave place to the dispensation of the Spirit. All worship was to cease except spiritual worship, and the sum of all knowledge was to be the knowledge of God and the right Devil.'

The 'Two Witnesses' were zealous in advocating the personality of God, in opposition to the Behmenists who denied that God was an impersonal, formless spirit. They called those utterly dark who said that God's essence was pure reason. They identified body with person, and held that if God had not a body He could not be a person. He was the one personal God who took flesh, and who came on earth as God the Son. The addition of the two witnesses to the one personal Deity was the work of Antichrist. Jacob Böhme's speculations on the being of God troubled them, the 'Two Witnesses' were careful to distinguish between the essence of the creature and that of the

* The story is, that Lodowick Muggleton lodged with a woman in Houndsditch who, in addition to tailoring, did a small business as a pawnbroker. † The collected works of Muggleton and Muggleton were published in 1836 in 12 vols.

Yet there were points on which they agreed with the mystics. The substance of earth and water was, they said, eternally in the presence of God. Darkness, death, and hell lay secretly hid in the earth. They had learned that the word *create* did not signify to make out of nothing. Dead matter must be eternal, for it could never proceed from the mouth of Him who is life and light. The 'Witnesses,' like the Quakers, did not fail to make their solemn protest against the idolatry of the Bible. It was a proof, they said, that they who worshipped the records instead of the Spirit which gave the records, had not the Spirit. These were, indeed, able to make men wise unto salvation, but only those men who had the light of the Spirit to understand the mind of God. Unfortunately for their own credit of being taught by the Spirit, the 'Witnesses' declared that they received it from heaven that the sun and moon were not much larger than they appeared to our eyes. The knowledge of the 'right devil,' which was an important part of true knowledge, was to know that there is no other devil but the evil that is in men's hearts. The 'Witnesses' believed in election in the Calvinistic sense, but they charitably excepted children from the number of the reprobates.*

The Fifth Monarchy Men formed another sect, of whom we often read, especially in Cromwell's time. It does not appear, however, that they were more than a party of Millenarians, who interpreted the prophecies concerning the personal reign of Christ in a way that was not flattering to the Lord Protector. They took their name from designating the Messianic reign as the fifth monarchy. The last of the four monarchies of Daniel was the Roman. It was represented by the fourth beast, which had ten horns, and among these horns came up a *little horn* previous to the final destruction of the empire, and just before the introduction of the millennial reign. Was not Oliver this 'little horn'?

* In 1695, the Rev. H. Maurice out that he was Elias. He had 'two

CHAP. IV. The Fifth Monarchy Men did not hesitate to usurper, and to pronounce him the last of Christ's whose usurpation of government was the only hindrance to the reign of Christ. The most prominent of the Fifth Monarchy Men seem to have been of the Baptist sect, especially those of the Baptists whose views were kindred to the views of the Anabaptists of Germany. But Millenarianism took many forms. It was part of the creed of John Tillinghast, and it was the subject of the learned dissertations of John Mede. It embraced those who said King Charles was 'the little horn,' and those who expected Christ to appear in the person of Charles II. There is a 'Narrative of the sufferings of Fifth Monarchy Men,' who were apprehended at a meeting in Coleman Street, 'while old John Tillinghast was preaching.' In the writings of John Tillinghast it is stated that in Cromwell's time the prisons were full of Fifth Monarchy Men. John Tillinghast was the minister of Trunch, in Norfolk. He embraced the Millenarian doctrines with some ardour, and had gained considerable notoriety in London as a preacher of them. He left his living in Norfolk partly that he might have more time to proclaim the nearness of the advent of Christ, partly that he might visit and comfort those who were in prison for the faith which he was to preach. His sermons were published soon after his arrival in London. His sermons are in no way remarkable,* were published after 1653 with a preface by Charles Feake, from 'his watch-tower at Windsor Castle.' This was the second time that John Tillinghast had been imprisoned by Cromwell. On the day when Charles II. was proclaimed, Feake preached on 'the little horn,' but he did not apply the prophecy to the Protector, but it was supposed that he intimated this without saying it. John Tillinghast examined Feake about his sermon. Feake denied that he had made that application of the little horn. H

John Tilling-
hast.

* A book with the following title laid in ashes in the year 1653 is advertised at the end of the contents, as if written by Tillinghast:— that the Turk shall shortly be destroyed by the sword of the Lord.

then know to whom it was applicable; but now that Cromwell had become 'a persecutor of the saints,' the meaning of the prophecy was plain. Cromwell was 'the little horn,' who was to oppress the saints. Feake was confident that the kingdoms of this world were near their end. The sand-glass was almost run. 'Our David' was about to appear, and day by day the hosts would run to Him, and take the kingdom from Saul, giving it to Him whose right it is. 'With what consternation of mind,' says Feake, 'will the proud Nimrods of the world flee before the Lamb and His followers, when the mighty hunters themselves shall be hunted from mountain to hill by the little handful of those who are redeemed from the earth! And whither will ye run for shelter, O ye tyrants? Who shall be your *Lord Protector* in the day when Jehovah's fury shall be poured out like fire? And if the rocks are thrown down by Him, what shall become of the reeds? If the sons of ancient kings be hurried out of the world to their own place for their oppression and persecution, for their contempt of God's word and His works, what shall be the portion of the *new monarchical tyrants* who are but of yesterday, and have not had time to take root on the earth, neither shall ever be able to confirm or establish their dominion?' CH
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Among the men who at this time singly represented some John special doctrines, we may include John Bidle. He may fairly be regarded as the first of the English Unitarians, though as a sect they can scarcely be said to have existed till towards the end of the next century. Bidle had the misfortune to be imprisoned for his opinions, under the Long Parliament, under Cromwell, and again under Charles II. In 1644 he was master of Crisp's Grammar School, in the city of Gloucester. He had been led, he said, 'by diligently reading the Scriptures,' after 'imploring divine illumination,' to doubt the received doctrines concerning the divinity of the third person in the Trinity. He allowed his doubts to be known, and was charged before the magistrates with heresy. His views were not yet matured. He

CHAP. IV. **Almighty Essence.** This 'confession' did not magistrates. When Bidle had further considered different senses of the word 'person,' he acknowledged persons in the Trinity. But while he admitted this against the divinity of the third person. Parliament pointed a committee to examine him. He appeared before the Assembly of Divines, who censured his books, and procured from Parliament an ordinance that all persons were unsound as to the doctrine of the Trinity, and death. This was in 1648. Before any sentence was passed on Bidle, the power both of the Assembly and of the Parliament had passed away.

John Bidle
denies the
personality of
the Holy
Ghost.

Bidle's tracts are collected into one volume, under the title of 'The Apostolical and True Opinion concerning the Holy Trinity Revived and Asserted.' This is divided into 'XII. Arguments,' 'A Confession of Faith,' and 'Confessions of the Fathers and Others.' There is prefixed to the first a letter written to Sir H. V., a Member of the Honourable House of Commons. Sir H. V. was probably Sir Henry Vane. Bidle beseeches him either to procure his discharge, or to have his cause determined. He had been urged to give his judgment concerning the Divinity of Jesus Christ, that, he said, was a question which he had not sufficiently studied. He states his belief concerning the Holy Spirit, offering to bring for his opinions many solid arguments out of the Holy Scriptures. He calls the Holy Spirit the chief of all the ministering spirits, in the same manner as Satan is the chief spirit among the devils. Along with other passages from the Scriptures, he quotes one from the Septuagint version of the Psalms: 'Uphold me with thy principal spirit.' He describes the orthodox Trinitarians as deluding themselves with personalities, moods, and such like brain-sick notions, which are without 'sap or sense.' These notions, he says, were 'first invented by the subtlety of Satan in the heads of Platonists, to prevent the worship of the true God.' The 'XII. Arguments' are made up of these passages in the Scriptures.

shall speak. He is sent by another. He is the gift of God. Men who have not believed in the Holy Spirit have yet been believers in God. The Holy Spirit changes place, and is therefore not present in all places. He has understanding and will distinct from God. He maketh intercession according to the Divine will. In the 'Confession of Faith' Bidle declares his doctrine concerning the Deity of the Son, as well as concerning the personality of the Spirit. He lays down a view of the Trinity which, he says, is the same as St. Peter's. There is first God, who alone is God. Then there is one 'chief Son, or spiritual, heavenly, and perpetual Lord and King set over the Church of God.' The third person is the Holy Spirit, the gift of God. Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary by a miraculous birth. Had he been the eternal God, it could not have been said that that which was conceived in Mary was *of the Holy Ghost*. He was a 'man approved of God by miracles,' and exalted to be both 'Lord and Christ.' His name is 'Wonderful' by reason of His exaltation. He is 'Counsellor,' because He reveals the counsels of God. He is 'the Mighty God,' because the Father has conferred upon Him dominion over all things. The 'Testimonies' from the Fathers were not of much service to Bidle's cause. He found many passages which declared that there was only one God, and that He created all things by His word. Irenæus said that neither 'the Apostles nor the Lord Christ confessed any other to be of His own person Lord or God.' Justin Martyr acknowledged that there were Christians in his day who said that Christ 'was a man born of men.' Tertullian says, 'there is but God, and He produced the universe out of nothing by His Word,' who was in the fulness of time 'made flesh.' It is surprising that Bidle should have gone to the Fathers at all. The very passages he quotes are full of that Platonism which he reckoned the first beginnings of the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity.

After the controversies with the Independents and Baptists, the most exciting, though certainly the least profitable,

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—what was meant by faith, and what was meant by works. By faith the theologians of the Church of Rome were understood simply receiving the creed of the Church; by works they sometimes meant the ceremonial works joined by the Church. All Protestants were agreed that neither of these was a condition of justification. Luther meant reliance on the divine forgiveness, and not on the works the commands of the moral law. When he said men are justified by faith, and not by works, did he mean that faith alone was the condition, without the works prescribed by the Church of Rome, or without the works of the moral law? If he meant the latter, the inference was that he made void the law through faith. But the *condition* has also to be explained. Did it mean something which man was to do in order to justification, or did it mean something which God was to do for him to fit him for justification? In the one case it is equivalent to a work by man. In the other case the law may be either in him or for him. If fulfilled in him, he is sanctified only for him, he is not holy in himself, but in another. It is not to be denied that the Scriptures distinctly teach the impossibility of salvation to any that are not sanctified in themselves. But it is also true that they speak of God as 'made of God unto us wisdom, sanctification, and complete redemption.'

Danger of the
Lutheran doc-
trine of Justi-
fication by
Faith.

In the warfare which the Reformers had with the Church of Rome, it was natural for them to cling, perhaps with undue tenacity, to the passages which seemed to have Christ alone active, and to leave man entirely passive in the work of salvation. In none of them was this tendency stronger than in Luther, as we may see in his comment on the Galatians. After his death it gave rise to a controversy which took this form—whether man is justified by the passive righteousness of Christ only, or if also by the active righteousness. The meaning of this was, whether men are justified because of the satisfaction for sin made by Christ made by His death, or whether also His active

wished to avoid the inference which some might make, that they might live in violation of all law, because Christ had kept the law for them. Those who said that man had nothing to do in order to justification were called Antinomians; but the word had a double meaning, for it included those who made this inference and those who held the doctrine but denied that the inference was just. CHA

Of the latter class was Dr. Tobias Crisp, a conformable Dr. Crisp clergyman, who died in the year 1642. Crisp's sermons have really but one subject—Christ and His elect. There is only one doctrine running through them all, which is that Christ stands in the place of His elect. Every expression in the Bible concerning atonement, satisfaction, or redemption, is taken in its literal meaning. Man's sin was a debt. He could not pay it, but Christ paid it. This is not understood as merely illustrating the doctrine of redemption. It really is the doctrine of redemption. If the price is paid, the man who owed it is out of debt. His believing or not believing has nothing to do with the question. Christ came to take away the sins of His people, therefore they have no sin. They may 'walk in excess of riot,' and 'commit all the abominations that can be committed,' yet 'the Lord has no more to lay to their charge than to the charge of a believer.' If it be objected that in this life the elect suffer as well as the non-elect, and that suffering implies the presence of sin, Crisp answers that they do not suffer *for*, but *from* sin. The punishment of all sin was laid on Christ. The object of punishment is not to make men better, but to satisfy offended justice. Christ is a gift. The fre There can be no conditions as to a gift. It would then become a bargain. Christ is given, and in consequence of the gift the elect are holy and righteous. God has made a covenant of grace absolutely. In this covenant man is tied to no conditions. If he were, and failed to keep them, the covenant would be void, which is not possible. It depends not on conditions, but on unfailing promises. God has said, *I will put my law into their hearts. They shall all be taught*

CHAP. IV. *were not yet born.* Faith is necessary to salvation, not a condition. It is the result of justification. The justified man believes. Faith comes to him through grace as passively as sin came to him through Adam. All men were literally one in the loins of Adam, so the elect one in Christ.

The elect
made willing.

We are likened to men who have no tongues and no hands to receive. God provides us with rain and puts Christ upon us. Crisp indeed makes an act of grace as a passive receiving, but the latter comes first. The elect, he says, is forced upon the elect in spite of their resistance. They are made to receive grace as a froward man is made to take bitter medicine. The passive reception prepares the way for the active. What at first is resisted afterwards received willingly. Unbelief is no barrier to grace. God's covenant is absolute. The elect are saved before grace begins to work in their hearts. Grace shows itself in their lives. Esau was rejected because he did evil. God says of His chosen, *I am found of them that sought me not.*

Imputation of
sin.

In the literal transfer of sin to Christ, Crispianus hesitates to use the extravagant language which was ascribed to Luther. He calls Christ 'the great transgressors,' because He bore the transgressions of men. Nor is imputation understood to mean merely that sin is charged to one that which belongs to another, but that sin is imputed to Christ, because it really was His. Him in virtue of His being one with the elect. In His sins He was separated from God when in the darkness of His soul he cried, *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*. David was wrong when he said that his sins were imputed to him. A justified person has no sins. God has transferred them to Christ. God has done it, for it is impossible that it could have been done by man. Some go so far, Crisp says, imagine that they can lay their sins upon Christ, but that is something which they cannot do.

The Antinomianism of Crisp was an exaggeration.

But the ordinary Calvinist had the answer ready, that God in His own time would effectually call, justify, and sanctify those who were ordained to eternal life. Crisp also reckoned on faith and works as being manifested in the lifetime of the chosen; yet, as they were chosen from eternity, they were from eternity the children of God. They were not justified in time but in eternity; not only before they were baptized but before they were born. CHA

The chief of the Antinomian teachers after Crisp was John Saltmarsh, minister of Brasted, in Kent. Saltmarsh provoked the other ministers by maintaining that there was no real difference between him and them. They were all zealous for free grace. Each party looked at the danger to which the other was exposed; the one fearing lest sanctification should appear as the ground of justification, and the other lest the necessity of sanctification should be denied. The fears on both sides, Saltmarsh said, were without foundation. For his part he preferred crying down man, that he might exalt Christ. To do this he had only to follow Crisp in denying that the new covenant had any conditions. Christ is not ours by any act of our own, but by an act of God's. He is ours without faith, by a power more glorious and infinite, but it is by believing that we know Him to be ours. Saltmarsh called one of his books, 'Free Grace; or, the Flowings of Christ's Blood Freely to Sinners.' The whole meaning of 'freely' was, that man is passive, even in the receiving of gifts from God. Legal teachers say, 'Believe and obey;' but where God works, faith and obedience follow as results. At the end of his book Saltmarsh quoted passages from Calvin, Dr. Preston, Sibbs, Perkins, Gataker, Thomas Goodwin, and others, to show that these writers, as well as himself, were all advocates of free grace. The only quotation which was of real value to him was from Perkins, who said that faith, though 'mentioned after the form and manner of a condition, is, in truth, the free gift of God, as well as eternal life.' Free g

When Richard Baxter was chaplain to the army he found Baxter

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covenant were absolute, and that faith is not a condition of the covenant, but one of the things promised. The covenant has conditions which are to be performed. We need both a legal and an evangelical righteousness. First we have through the satisfaction which Christ made by His death to the broken law of the covenant of works. Second we can only have by fulfilling the conditions of the covenant of grace. It is the will of God that 'some ground in himself of personal and particular claim.' God, Baxter says, has made it as possible for us to fulfil the conditions of the covenant of grace, as Adam to keep the covenant of works. The conditions of the covenant of grace are faith and repentance. These are at the same time promised by God, and yet required of us, Baxter explained by distinctions which ordinarily cannot easily follow. The absolute promises were made to the elect, but as no man knows he is among the elect until he is sanctified, the promises of the covenant are to us conditionally. From this doctrine of an absolute covenant with God the teaching of Dr. Crisp was a fair and logical development. But Baxter neutralized his own admissions by the introduction of other and opposing principles. He thought of the best answer to Antinomianism to separate between election from eternity and justification from eternity. Like the Calvinists, like the Supralapsarians, would admit no condition *after* in the divine decrees. What God does has no condition from eternity. His acts are transient to us, but permanent with Him. Baxter saw that this was the root of Antinomianism, and, to oppose it, he virtually separated election from eternity. He made faith and works conditions of the covenant, and the ground of our present complete justification at the day of judgment. He said, from life, but we have also to work for life.

Censured by
Calvinists.

Baxter's 'Aphorisms' were censured not only by Antinomians proper, but by many Calvinists, whose views were not Antinomian. He withdrew his book from circulation, and acknowledged that there was in it a general

the effort to show his agreement with the doctrines of the Assembly's Catechism. In 1676 he answered objectors in his 'Treatise of Justifying Righteousness,' and again, in 1690, he published 'The Scripture Gospel defended, and Christ, Grace, and Free Justification Vindicated against the Libertines.' This consisted of two pieces, one of which was called 'A Breviate of fifty Controversies about Justification.' It had been written thirteen years before, and was now published along with 'A Defence of Christ and Free Grace against the Subverters, commonly called Antinomians or Libertines, who ignorantly blaspheme Christ under pretence of extolling Him.' This book was published in the midst of a great excitement, which had been raised by the republication of Dr. Crisp's 'Sermons.' These sermons were edited by Crisp's son, and recommended by twelve of the Non-conforming ministers of London. Among these ministers were John Howe, the two Mathers, and some others who were not supposed to have any sympathies with the peculiar opinions of Dr. Crisp. The republication of the 'Sermons' was the occasion of renewing the controversies about grace and justification. Dr. Daniel Williams, a Presbyterian minister of London, undertook a special refutation of Dr. Crisp's heresies. He answered from the stand-point of moderate Calvinism, and his answers come down to us recommended by some of the men who had allowed their names to be prefixed to the republished sermons of Dr. Crisp.*

* The controversy which we have connected with the name of Crisp, might be dated earlier than his time. It was not properly one controversy. A difference of views on justification led to the publication of many books on both sides, some of which were controversial and some not. In 1642, John Goodwin, not yet an Arminian, but evidently on the high-road, wrote a 'Treatise of Justification,' in which the question was made easy by maintaining that not Christ's active righteousness was imputed to us, but our own

givenness of sins. Goodwin, with a singular freedom from all the scholastic subtleties about nature and grace, at once declares that the *natural* man can believe. 'Unless,' he says, 'it be possible that *natural* men believe, it is impossible that they should ever become spiritual. And if it be possible that they may believe, then may they do such things whereunto God hath, by way of promise, annexed grace and acceptance.'—*The Divine Authority of the Scriptures Asserted*.

Thomas Gataker wrote 'Antino-

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Baxter's
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fended.

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Leaders of the
Independents.

Lord Brook.

When we have excepted the members of the W Assembly, and the divines who adhered to the ca bishops, the only men of note belonging to this e leaders of the Independents. These are Lord Br Sterry, John Howe, John Owen, and John Goodw Brook had been in the Long Parliament a zeal nent of Episcopacy. He is reckoned an Indepe he would have been better described as a Platonic tical Christian. In 1640 he wrote a book on 'T of Truth,' in which he was to prove that truth is the soul, which, again, is one in its essence, fac acts. The understanding of man, he says, is a divine nature, conforming it to the likeness of th Betwixt Christ and the human soul there is a u were, of hypostases. All beings are but one, and are more or less excellent in the measure in w partake of the first Being. Time and space are tent, and sin is but the privation of good. Since are one, Lord Brook maintains that reason and differ only in degree. Faith knows more of God son, because faith has its seat in the affections, a loves most has most of the image of God, and, the higher knowledge of God.

Peter Sterry.

Peter Sterry was, under Cromwell, one of the r lains. He was of the same mystical spirit as Lo His sermons on 'The Rise, Race, and Royalty of dom of God in the Soul of Man,' are full of the Plat logy, teaching that God is all things and everything said by Euthydemus and, after him, by St. Paul, fulness that filleth all in all.' But Sterry adds, explanation, all things mean each according to t of that in which they are. God is as truly in th as in the gentle, but with the pure, says Davi pure, and with the froward He is froward. He is

Sinai as well as on Mount Sion ; but on Sion He is a calm, clear light, on Sinai He is a consuming fire. He is in Himself and in the creature. In Himself He is the Eternal Essence, in the creature He is but the shadow of Himself. We are in a world of images, yet this world is a type of God. The heathen in this sense rightly called the world 'the Great God.' Solomon said that Wisdom lifts up its voice, and cries in the corners of every street. Wisdom is the Brightness of Eternal Beauties. The streets are the outward form in which all the creatures walk forth. In them Wisdom cries aloud, and her voice has gone forth, as St. Paul says, unto the world's end. We are in this life as in a show. It is a reflection of holy images, a reverberation of blessed sounds. Desire is awakened within us. A sweet sense of high joys is infused into the soul. We spread our spirits through the world, to take the world into our spirits, as 'the noise of harmony sounding from afar.' If we slide downward, it is a waste desert. If we ascend with the holy images of the Eternal, they shall continue to become brighter and fuller, till we and they shall reach the fountain, and be received into an immortal Fulness. Every man is exhorted to ask himself if he is changed, or if he still stands in the circle of vanity, darkness, and woe? If the latter, then, Sterry says, he has gone forth from his centre outward into a waste wilderness. From this he must return. It is death, and from it he must rise again. Our resurrection is the same with Christ's resurrection. As the sun draws forth the plants, so does the Father disclose Jesus Christ in the soul.*

* Sterry's sermons only pursue the beaten tract of mystical theology, but he is sometimes very happy in his analogies. Speaking of John and Peter he says, 'God made John the Evangelist of a gentle heart, seasoned with a *still* but strong affection; like a river that runs quiet, but swift and deep. This John Jesus Christ takes into His bosom, makes him His

brings the wheel over him, and breaks him sorely.'

'The woman said to Saul, "I saw gods ascending out of the earth." But the soul in the divine principle sees God Himself with the whole host of the sons of God, *God-like forms* ascending out of every point of the earth, and the lowest parts of things.'

Again: 'The devil would be all

CHAM
Mystical
Theology

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John Howe.

John Howe was of Independent or Congregational principles, but he does not seem to have thought of the Church as a divine institution. He refused to conform at the Restoration on the ground that to conform would be to assent to the liberal views which he entertained as to the government of the Christian Church. His biographer says that he was for the union and communion of all visible Churches, and that he made nothing necessary for church-membership but to be a Christian. It is said that his chief objection to conformity was re-ordination. He had been ordained by presbyters. That he called the beginning of his ministry and to be ordained again would be beginning a second. The majority of the men who held Howe's views were Presbyterians both under the Presbyterians and under Episcopacy. They regarded receiving ordination as submitting to the authority of the Church,—acknowledging an order in both the Old and the New Testament. Howe it appeared, that to receive the second ordination was to dishonour the first. He was, however, an Episcopalian conformist, and long after the Restoration was ordained by the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Down. He enjoyed the friendship of Tillotson, and is said to have been partially within the circle of the Cambridge Platonists. Traces of this influence may be found in his 'Living Principles,' but they are not many. On the ordinary doctrine of Christianity he is orthodox, as orthodoxy was then understood. His explication of the Trinity is Platonic, but guarded to prevent any insinuation of heresy.

John Owen.

John Owen believed that the principles of Congregational Church polity were prescribed in the New Testament. His first appearance as a writer was in the Calvinist controversy. He wrote a 'Display of Arminianism,' which secured him the patronage of the Committee for the Suppression of Scandalous Ministers. The theology of the 'Display of Arminianism' is Calvinism of the darkest kind. The Being which John Owen worshipped was a Being whose attributes of goodness, as men judge of goodness,

be contingent on the doings of men. But proud carnal CHA
 reason, says Owen, rebels against the *word of God*. It Again
 maintains that the events of this world take place according Armin
 to man's doings, and not according as God has ordered
 them. Men reason, and presumptuously exclaim that if
 God ordains evil and punishes them for it, 'He is un-
 just; His ways are not equal.' Blinded by their own self-
 sufficiency, they reply against God. They deny the divine
 foreknowledge, because they cannot reconcile God's decrees
 with their favourite idol—the freedom of the human will.
 They suppose the Almighty to desire things to be done in
 the world otherwise than they are done. They make final
 impenitence the cause of reprobation, and they reprobate
 none but the finally impenitent. As if God had not settled
 it from all eternity that they were to be reprobates, without
 regard either to their unbelief or their impenitence. They
 say that Christ died for all, which means in reality that He
 died for none. An atonement as a price for all, and yet ef-
 fectually applied to none, is a price not paid. In making
 this objection to Arminianism, Owen saw, what not many
 men have seen, that satisfaction with the Arminian cannot
 consistently mean the same thing as satisfaction with the
 Calvinist. They may use the same language, but there
 is a difference as to the very nature of the satisfaction.
 The 'Arminian heresies' were awful. But the worst of
 them was the belief that even Pagans who had never
 heard the Gospel might be saved. How, Owen asked,
 could God save those to whom the Gospel had never been
 preached? The Pagans, who had made endeavours after
 an upright life, had their reward here in outward pro-
 sperity or internal peace of mind. They may also have a re-
 ward hereafter in a diminution of the degrees of their tor-
 ments. But out of torments they cannot be, for by nature
 they were corrupt, and from all eternity children of wrath.

The main pillars of Owen's theology were—that the Bible Pillar
 is a book written immediately by God, therefore whatever Owen
 it seems to say, should be received, however it may be op- theolo

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John Owen
and Brian
Walton.

use of reason is to find out what the Bible contains. The application of reason which, from the very nature of the Bible, most men have found to be impossible.

When John Owen was great in power at the University of Oxford, Brian Walton published his Polyglott Bible. Luther was not a more formidable enemy to the Church than Brian Walton, with his different versions and variations, to the Biblical belief of John Owen. The Quakers told him not to trust the Bible, but the Spirit; and he called them 'poor deluded fanatical souls.' Walton's intentions of heresy. He came to his work sincerely as a scholar. He compared the various readings that he could find, if possible, determine the true reading. But the multiplication of various readings made Owen tremble for the Bible of God. He said that the Bible was inspired, infallible, and preserved from corruption by the providence of God through the ages of the Church. Some theologians of the Church of Rome had already collected various readings, and had made some progress in the criticism of the Bible. Owen could not understand their position. The Vulgate was the authorized version. The Hebrew text was not to be trusted, and in any case they trusted to the Church, placing their faith in the word written. But to make the Hebrew text uncertain was to undermine the foundations of Protestant Christianity. It was, Owen said, the subtle work of the great enemy of man. God had promised that His words should abide for ever. This promise was found in Isaiah lix. 21, which, on the principle of applying reason to the Bible, was understood to apply to the Bible of the Old and New Testaments. By the Spirit, Owen said, a 'Spirit of verifying,' the true Church knew which books were canonical. This Spirit the Church of Rome had denied. It added to the canon books that were not inspired.

The result of Walton's criticism was that the Bible writings had been subject to the same accidental errors as the works of profane authors. He ascribed a late origin to the Hebrew points. By comparing the old translations

certainty of the doctrines it contained. He thought it inconsistent with the providence of God over His own word that He should suffer it to be corrupted even in the smallest matters. He said that Walton's going to translations was exalting translations above the original. Unfortunately for the credit of his own scholarship, Owen maintained that the Hebrew was faultless. The points, he said, were completed under Ezra and his companions, the men of the great synagogue; and in this work they were guided by the infallible direction of God's Spirit. We do not receive these books as we do other books. Here we have nothing to do with probable arguments about genuineness and authenticity. These are not the ground of our belief in the Scriptures. We receive the Bible with a divine supernatural faith. The authority of God is manifest in it. As the voice which spoke in the writers of the Bible was to them evidence of inspiration, so the voice speaking to us in the Scriptures is evidence that they are the word of God.

John Goodwin,* vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, John was also an Independent. It is a reflection which must often be made how little we know of a man when we merely know the sect to which he belonged. John Goodwin and John Owen had nothing in common. They were types of two classes of men entirely distinct from each other. Goodwin was an Independent in principle, but among the Independents he was rather as an outcast from them than one that was of them. He stood isolated, and no party has had an interest in doing justice to his memory. But no man of that age had more advanced views, both in religion and what concerned civil government. No man brought a clearer head and a sounder judgment to the many questions that had helped to bring confusion on the Church and the nation. He alone, of all the sectaries of any eminence, openly and decidedly renounced the dogmas of Calvin. It is hard for us to conceive how great a thing this was for

* John Goodwin is generally called a Fifth Monarchy Man. This state- was surprised in Coleman Street one Sunday morning by Cromwell's offi-

CHAP. IV. a man in Goodwin's position. Arminianism had

—
tified with the ecclesiastical extravagances of Laud.

An Arminian. ism was regarded as the strength of Puritanism. Arminianism was another name for tyranny, and for all slavish and obsequious to the 'powers that be.' It was identified with liberty, manliness, uprightness that formed the character of a good citizen. Goodwin was an ardent republican, but he failed to see that the views of Arminius were less favourable to liberty than those of Calvin. On all these subjects men were surrounded by a thick mist. The mist was a kind of influence under which they had been educated. They were guided by authorities and sequences rather than by the reason of things. John Goodwin saw through the mist. Civil government was to be settled so as to secure the greatest good for the greatest number; but what men are to believe concerning God and his doctrine was to be learned from the Scriptures. Goodwin was conscious of the greatness of the interval which lay between the doctrines of Calvin and those which he reckoned natural, he called one of his books 'Redemption Reasoned of.' He was to clear away the false glosses which had accumulated round the doctrine of redemption. He was to show things most surely believed by all Puritans, whether Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist, and, we may say, by all Churchmen except those of the school of Laud.

A thorough life of John Goodwin would be a history of all the controversies and of all the changes, both in Church and State, which were witnessed between the first meeting of the Long Parliament and the restoration of Charles II. In his almost forgotten tracts there is scarcely a subject on which in politics or theology, on which he has not written. He was the Presbyterian he had a continual warfare. He called them as 'the saints,' and 'displayed' them in a 'Mastix.' The Divine right of Presbyterianism was regarded by Presbyterians as much a mental madness as the Divine right of Episcopacy with the followers of Laud. They succeeded to some extent in making Presbyterianism the

did not find fault with the Presbyterianism set up by the Government. That, he said, was peaceable, and might be borne by men whose views were congregational. But 'the presbytery of the ministers' was like the fourth beast in Daniel, which devoured and broke the residue to pieces. The residue were those who would not consent to what Goodwin calls the *High* and Anti-Parliamentary Presbytery, the spirit of which was manifested in the 'Ordinance' for punishing heretics with death, and in the 'Gangræna' of Thomas Edwards. The ministers defended death for heresy by the example of Ananias and Sapphira. They reserved to themselves the power of determining what was or was not heresy. Goodwin said that the House of Commons had judged that the denial of the Trinity was not a 'damnable heresy, and not contrary to the manifest word of God.' It was not that Goodwin himself was a denier of the Trinity, but, as the Scriptures had nowhere expressly said that God is one in three persons, he thought it unreasonable to sentence men to death for the denial of what was not expressly in the Scriptures. The Trinity is an inference depending on fallible reason, as all inferences do. Men dispute about the persons in the Godhead, and yet the word *person* is never applied to God in the Scriptures. He is neither said to be one person nor three persons; and if the ministers were asked what they meant by person, they would probably answer no better than the Apocryphal elders in the Story of Susannah. The 'Ordinance' condemned some opinions which, in the judgment of the Presbyterians, subverted the foundations of the Christian religion. Among these was denying the Scriptures to be the word of God. To which Goodwin answers that the word of God is a part of the Scriptures. We surely, he says, do not ask men to believe that the English translation of the Scriptures is the word of God; and if this can be said only of the Greek and Hebrew copies, how many there are who know nothing of the word of God !*

CH

God is
called
son in
Script

CHAP. IV.

The civil magistrate has no right to punish heretics.

But Goodwin disputed the whole claim of the terians, or of any sect, to punish men for heresy. tioned altogether the right of the civil magistrate to in matters of religion. The ministers pleaded the old law, blasphemers and idolaters were put to death. Goodwin answered, that the Sadducees denied the existence of angels or spirits, rejected all of the prophets, excepting only those of Moses the Sadducees were not put to death. The Pharisees void the commandments of God, yet Christ gave to His disciples that they should be put to death. Christ was zealous, for the zeal of His Father's eat him up. They who put men to death for heresy have an infallible certainty what is heresy. For of the civil magistrate to interfere in religion, the said that 'He was the keeper of both tables.' answered, that if this were an Apostolic saying, inquire more deeply into its meaning. As it stands mean either that the civil magistrate should be answer to the people by keeping the whole law, or it may be he should provide for the performance by those of jurisdiction of all duties authorized by God. But the question regarded as open for further consideration, whether the office of the civil magistrate be not entire in itself reference to his religious creed. Till the days of Constantine, he had no jurisdiction in the Christian religion. The ecclesiastical elder has his within the Church, and what not the civil ruler have his within the State?

The London ministers assembled at Sion College subscribed 'A Testimony to the Divinity of Jesus Christ and to a Solemn League and Covenant.' Goodwin was not present, but that he alone was aimed at in this assembly. He was present in 'Sion College Visited,' protesting against the

'Sion College Visited.'

world by Jesus Christ, which are indeed represented and declared both in the translations and the originals, but are distinct from both.' Again

language or the other. the first penman of the but the word was from the 2000 years before Moses

League and Covenant.' and telling them that Jesus Christ, and not the Scriptures, was the foundation of the Christian religion. At a later date he had the opportunity of meeting them again, when the 'Triers' were sent out to examine the incumbents of all livings, as to their learning and conversion. It is true that among these 'Triers' there were Independents and Baptists, as well as Presbyterians. But they all hated Arminianism, and John Goodwin was a notorious Arminian. He wrote 'The Triers (Tormentors) Tried, and Cast by the Laws both of God and Man.' He represented them as mounted on thrones far above the level of their predecessors, the bishops. As Leviathan esteemed iron and brass as straw, hay, and rotten wood, so did they esteem all law.

As a disciple of Arminius, the question of the possibility of salvation to those who had never heard the Gospel, was forced upon Goodwin by the Calvinists. He considered it in a paper called 'The Pagan's Debt and Dowry.' There was first the question, what is the Gospel? The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says the Gospel was preached to the ancient Jews. Yet Christ by name was not preached among them. The rock in the desert is said to have been Christ, that is, a type representative of Christ. In the same way we call God's goodness to the heathen Christ. The Apostle says that the goodness of God leads men to repentance. Now, if it leads to repentance, it must lead to faith in Christ, whether the name of Christ be known or not. The substance of the Gospel was preached both to Jews and Pagans. The Scriptures, Goodwin says, intimate that there is a capacity in all men, by the light of nature, to know that some atonement has been made for sin. St. Paul declares that they have heard the Gospel who have heard that sound which goes out day and night from the heavens unto the end of the world. In all ages there have been grains or seeds of piety in men's hearts. What men have actually known by the light of nature is considerable, but not to be measured with what they might know.

In three different pamphlets* Goodwin defended the civil

CHAP. IV.
Execution of
Charles I. de-
fended.

war, the doings of the army under Fairfax, and the of death passed and executed upon King Charles.jects to defend themselves against a bad king was said, to take the sword out of the hands of a madn take charge of a vessel, that under the guidance of a briate captain, was drifting on to the rocks and t sands. After the King was executed, the London sent forth 'a Faithful Representation,' vindicati selves from being in any way concerned in the King Goodwin sought no vindication of himself, but pu pamphlet in defence of the execution. It was he said, by Scripture, reason, law authorities, cedents. The law of the land punishes all murder death. It does not ask whether they be tailors makers, why then should it ask if they are king enough that they are murderers. The thing ma above the maker of it. Kings are the workmansh people. This is so plain from Scripture, that ev case of David, who was chosen by God, the app rested with the people. St. Peter calls the civil r the ordinance of man, because kings and magistrat their very being from the people. From this sp ginally, all authority and all power of governm House of Commons, without consent of either Lords, may determine whatever they judge conduc safety and well-being of the commonwealth. From perience, he argues that it is not desirable to adva to the government of States. So universally had l vernment become tyranny in ancient times, that S expressed a doubt if it is possible for any king to l

It was not likely that the Baptists, then a new se escape the keen controversialist of Coleman St named them 'The Brethren of the Dip.' He t logical origin of the sect to the belief that men posed to the wrath of God, if not baptized by t immersion. This was the belief of the Anabaptis many, but it was checked and modified by circum

There is no name that we meet more frequently in all that concerns the religious history of the seventeenth century than that of Richard Baxter. It is difficult to put Baxter under any classification, for he at some points comes near to all parties, and yet he stands apart from all. Baxter represented the spirit of his century more than any other man that could be named. He had its weakness as well as its strength. Though deeply influenced by the prevailing theology of his time, yet his intellect struggled against it in almost every form.

Baxter began his career as a Calvinist and a Conformist. He scrupled about conformity as soon as he understood it, and he rejected the more rigid form of Calvinism as soon as he had examined it. The prevalence of Antinomianism, which was the logical consequence of Calvinism, led, as we have seen, to the publication of his first book, 'Aphorisms of Justification.' To the end of his life he professed to be a Calvinist, but he explained Calvinism so as to make it appear Arminianism without being it. He rejected the Supralapsarianism of Dr. Twisse, but approved the decisions of the synod of Dort and the doctrine of the Assembly's Catechism. That is to say, he approved them in a sense in which he thought they could be reconciled with moderate Arminianism. He threw back on the high Calvinists the consequences of their doctrine, that they made God the author of sin, denied man free-will, and in this way overthrew the foundations both of natural and revealed religion. Baxter would have parted entirely with Calvinism but for one decision of the synod of Dort, which was that Christ had died for all men. He thought that by believing this he escaped the difficulty of charging reprobation on the mere will of God. Christ, he said, died for all men, but not equally. He died for the good of all, and, as Bishop Davenant said, He ordained the elect to faith, perseverance, and glory. The non-elect were not ordained to unbelief, but, because of unbelief and impenitence foreseen, they were ordained to everlasting reprobation. It was the merest vestige of Cal-

CHA
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ter

Not a
vinist

CHAP. IV. Whatever he might yield to Calvinism, he always meant that a condition was to be performed by man, which meant anything at all, was a subversion of the first of Calvinism. With the keenness of a genuine he pursued the Calvinists to their last hiding-place, the subtle labyrinths of metaphysical reasoning. He without qualification, the assumption, which is the foundation of all false theology, that we can know of the being of God. To know Him, said I, eternal life. A merely negative knowledge of God is not sufficient for positive love. The glass in which we are to know God is our own soul, where we make our image. Our conceptions of Him may be inadequate, if they are true. It may be that His will, His being, His decree are all one. It may be that knowledge with God is not always the same as knowledge with man. We cannot know the all of God. Our knowledge of Him is that which we have on the human side, and by this we must know Him. He is God to us, just so far as we know Him. We know then, about the order of the divine decrees, or the order of the divine foreknowledge on futurity, are beyond all except so far as we can see God mirrored after the image of man.

Can we know
God?

Baxter and
Conformity.

As to Conformity Baxter was always on its very verge. In his first diocese the enforcement of ceremonialism had been rigid, for he says that he never wore the surplice on any occasion. He did not object to Episcopacy, but he refused to take the oath known as the *et cetera*, in which was to promise that he would never endeavour to change the government of the Church as then administered by archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, chancellors, and others, indefinitely included under '*et cetera*.' Baxter was reckoned the leader of the Presbyterians, but he was not a Presbyterian in any proper sense. He denies the authority of the Long Parliament or the Westminster Assembly, composed of Presbyterians. They were conformists, and ministers of the Church of England who

fell into other hands, and ended in acts and measures which Baxter deplored. He showed then no inconsistency when he appeared among the first to bring back the king, and when he was ready to accept a bishopric, on condition of some moderate but desirable changes in the discipline of the Church. CHA

In 1680 Baxter published 'A Treatise of Episcopacy,' which he began in 1640, but which was not really written till 1671. It was not, he said, the Episcopacy of the Church of England which he opposed, but Episcopacy as understood by Cousins, Zouch, and Dodwell. He would have preferred more bishops, and the interval between bishops and presbyters greatly lessened. His ideal was a bishop in every city, with the clergy of the district and country churches under him. Yet, he said, if it pleased the king to give a bishop charge of a larger diocese, he would submit. Twenty-six bishops over all England seemed to him an Episcopacy in name, without the reality. On Episcopacy. The parishes, at that time, were 9725 in number. In Lincoln diocese, in which Baxter then lived, there were nearly 1100 churches. The diocese was 120 miles in length. Some other dioceses were equally large. London had parishes with populations from 20,000 to 50,000. It was impossible, Baxter said, for any man to do the work of a bishop among such vast populations, or over so wide a district of country. Yet not one of the six-and-twenty bishops had so much as a suffragan. Neither Scripture, the example of the early Church, nor the requirements of the Church of England, authorized such an Episcopacy as this.*

The rise of this 'Diocesan Prelaty' was accounted for in several ways. The Apostles planted churches, and ruled over them for a time. They appointed fixed bishops, one over each congregation; but while the Apostles lived, the fixed bishops were under them. Hence the historians frequently call the Apostles or evangelists the bishops of these churches. Another reason may have been in the natural disparity of age and gifts which made disparity of rank. Rise of Episcopacy.

CHAP. IV. right that those who came as his helpers should
 — his consent, and be under his control. The unfixed
 gathered churches, and thus it fell to them to ordain
 pastors or bishops. The fixed bishops afterwards performed
 ordinary duties of the Apostles, appropriating to them
 ordination and some other offices. But these
 first were nothing more than chief ministers. Every church
 had its bishop, and, when it was necessary, its presbytery
 to assist him. They generally lived together in communities
 and were not distinct orders, but two different ranks in the
 same order. Every market town had its bishop. Origen
 decreed that villages should not have bishops. At the
 Council of Carthage there were bishops whose see was so
 insignificant that the names of four or five of them were
 never been found in geographical books or tables. The
 change from the primitive Episcopacy was after Constantine
 became the religion of the empire, when the government of
 the Church was fashioned after the model of the government
 of the State. Baxter said that the primitive Episcopacy
 was properly the Episcopacy of the Church of England.
 It was that which Cranmer taught, who said that the
 difference between bishops and presbyters was a device of the
 Fathers. This, too, was the Episcopacy which the
 Westminster Assembly did not wish to oppose. The
 purpose was to give the bishops such dioceses as they could
 manage, and not to take away from the presbyters all
 government, for they also were bishops in the primitive
 sense.* At the Restoration, Baxter says, the Nonconform-
 ists asked the king for Episcopacy after the model of the
 primitive Church, as laid down by Archbishop Ussher.
 If the king had kept his promise about appointing
 bishops, and some other needful reformations, they
 would not have scrupled to conform.

Primitive epi-
 scopacy a
 bishop for
 every market
 town.

* It is difficult to believe that Baxter is right here. Had the Assembly been satisfied with a modified Episcopacy, Archbishops Ussher and Williams

rians rejected the change. Archbishop Ussher's party proposed. The book, however, it is said, the Covenant was prom-

In 1691, the last year of Baxter's life, he published a book, *CHA*
 'Of National Churches.' It was in this work, more than in *Baxter*
 any other, that he showed how thoroughly he entered into *National*
 the spirit of the old Conformists of the Church of England.* *Church*
 Here he must stand with Cranmer, Hooker, Field, and the
 great defenders of the Protestant principle of nationality, on
 which the Reformed Church of England was established
 under Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth. Papacy, he said, is
 built on the ruins of national Churches. It profanes the
 sacred offices of kings and magistrates, 'feigning them to
 be but a sort of secular animals, who have the care only of
 men's bodies, and trading and worldly affairs, and not of
 souls and men's everlasting safety.' These things are made
 to appear as if they belonged only to priests, and so kings
 are made as much baser than priests as the body is viler
 than the soul. This mistake, Baxter says, has of late cor-
 rupted the innovating prelates of the Church of England,
 who think that a national Church should be unified, not by
 the sovereign head, but by a collective sacerdotal head, as if
 the prince were not sufficiently sacred to be the head of the
 Church in his own dominions. Baxter calls this a 'novel
 opinion.' He pronounces it contrary to the law, to the
 judgment of the lawyers, and to the doctrine of the Church
 of England. By this error, the clergy had taught princes
 that it is not necessary for them to be studious about the
 Scriptures, but to follow luxury, sports, and debauchery.
 National Churches are Christ's institutions. Baxter objects to
 the distinction civil and ecclesiastical, as if the government
 of the magistrates were not ecclesiastical government. In a
 national Church, the prince is the chief officer under Christ. *The ci*
 He does not preach the word or administer sacraments. *the pr*
 He has not the power of the keys, but he rules them that *head o*
 have the power. Pastors are the prime matter of a national *Church*
 Church, but it is by the prince that it has its 'unifying form.'
 Baxter had once said that the Scotch Church Confederation
 was a saddling of the horse for Papal usurpation. He re-
 tracted this when he thought of that confederation as

CHAP. IV. tional. He ascribes to it the success which Pres-
 — in Scotland has had in keeping down sectaries.

Three kinds
 of bishops.

In the treatise on Episcopacy, Baxter was not content that the Apostles had any proper successors. He was of the opinion that, as the Church ceased to be missionary, the evangelists ceased as an order, and the government of the Church devolved on the fixed bishops or pastors. In his book on National Churches, he says he once doubted the Apostles' superiority was a settled superiority of order, but he is convinced that it was, and that the Apostles' was a superior order of ministers to succeed them in their work. He takes the Episcopal view of the 'bishops of Timothy and Titus.' They were overseers or bishops, and not inferior bishops. There were three ranks of bishops: the ordinary presbyters; the presiding bishops, as incumbents of large parishes with curates under them; and the successors of the Apostles. It might seem that Baxter has really come to the most orthodox view of bishops, but the change is less than at first we suppose. His complaint still is, that the last sort of bishops have not only got the name exclusively appropriate to them, but also the offices which belong also to the presiding and inferior bishops. The inferior bishops are undoubtedly the diocesan bishops have unlawfully taken away the Episcopal character. At the time of the Reformation, the ordinary parish clergy were in such ignorance of their duty that it was necessary to restrain them; but now, as he has said, the diocesan bishops should share the government of the Church with the inferior bishops, and not make them, if it were, a sort of half-pastors. The Church of England, as it now stands, is, says Baxter, a national Church, not a Church to Christ's institution. It is under one superior head, as the unifying head. It consists of baptized churches, and baptized churches. It has national laws subject to Christ. It makes none magistrates who are not Christians. It has diocesan or general overseers,

on things that are not essentials. It is wrong to make needless laws to silence or eject any true or tolerable ministers. The dioceses and parishes are too large. The patrons have too much power in choosing the ministers, and the people too little. Bishops should not be chosen without the consent of synods. Ordinations should not be made without the assistance of presbyters, not merely for the sake of form, as it is now, but they ought to be the acts of the bishop and *his presbytery*. Not only should the gates of a national Church be as wide as possible, but all Dissenters should have full toleration, except those *that are heretics*. The Protestant Nonconformists, according to Baxter, are members of the Church of England as truly as the Conformists.

In the history of religious thought in England, Richard Baxter claims a special place as the first English writer on the evidences of Christianity. Even in 1649, when he published the 'Saints' Everlasting Rest,' he speaks of the prevalence of unbelief, not in any open form, but as involved in the doctrines of the 'Libertines, Familists, Seekers, and Anti-scripturalists.*' It was not that these sects refused to be called Christians, but they took up positions which seemed to Baxter subversive of the foundations on which Christianity rests. In the second part of the 'Saints' Rest,' he turned aside from the immediate subject of his work to discourse of the grounds on which men ought to receive the religion of Christ. He complained of a custom which had arisen among the Puritans of resolving all into the testimony of the Spirit. It is in things of this kind that we discover how honestly Baxter used his intellect, and how little he feared to state the truth precisely as it appeared to him. To resolve all into the Spirit was to lay our minds open to any extravagance, and to be ready to receive any doctrine, however absurd and unintelligible. The illumination of the Spirit

CHA

Baxter
Eviden

* All these names mean nearly the same class of people. The Familists are the only well-defined party. Baxter had specially before him one — whom he calls Clement Widdowes —

doctrine simply was that we could not believe in Christianity without miracles; but so far was he from being a sceptic, that he believed the

CHAP. IV.

was not to be denied, and the better men were the more of the Spirit they would have. But the Spirit not give men eyes. It only opened the eyes of those who already possess. The gift of reason, said Baxter, was as good a gift, as well as the gift of the Spirit. The reason must be rectified, purified, illuminated, and then the evidence of the truth of Christianity is invincible. The Spirit may be the efficient cause of our belief; but the question now to be determined is the evidence itself, the objective cause. If evidence exists independently of the Spirit's testimony, for this, men who had not the Spirit would be able to overcome their unbelief.

Definition of
faith.

The definitions which Baxter was led to make of faith and reason, and the offices he assigned them, were approved by all who in his time were reckoned orthodox. He rejected from his view of faith* the idea of a trust without proper evidence. Faith was rather regarded as the rational act of a rational creature, which proceeded from an exercise of the understanding. The stronger the ground which faith had for the value of its testimony, the stronger itself became. A greater sanctification consists in the rectifying of reason. He who has the highest reason has most grace. True, but which such statements as these would now have been ever, modified by Baxter's views of Scripture. He soon said that reason is the proper foundation of faith, but he tells us, that for the rectifying of reason we need, not only of the Spirit's illumination, but of the Scriptures. Not that God ties Himself not to His Spirit, but that He has ceased to reveal by His Spirit what is revealed in the word. He has perfected the Scripture revelations, and now reveals by His Spirit what is revealed in the word, independently of the word, but by giving His Spirit

* The explanation of 'above reason' would not be reckoned orthodox even now. 'Those knowing divines that tell the Socinians that the matters of faith are above reason, can

Baxter, like all the divines, generally put the question even to what was revealed; but in one place afterwards, perceived

nate our reason, to understand what is already revealed in the Scriptures. CH

Part of Baxter's argument necessarily is to prove that the Scriptures are a revelation from God. He does not hold that this belief is necessary to salvation; yet it is a true belief. A man may be saved who only believes one book, if it contains the doctrine of salvation, or a man may be saved who takes the Scriptures for the writings of honest, worthy men, and believes in Christ, not because of the testimony of the Scriptures, but because of the doctrine and miracles which he finds in the Scriptures. Nevertheless, the Scriptures *are* the word of God. This is proved by Mirac the miracles. That doctrine and those writings which are confirmed by miracles must be of God. It may be objected that Antichrist was to work wonders. The answer is, that Antichrist would perform lying wonders, such as the feigned miracles of sorcerers and witches, but not true miracles. It cannot be supposed that God would ever give such power to any but those that are commissioned by Him. It may still be asked, who is to distinguish between the false and the true? Baxter tries to lay down a criterion, which is, that true miracles are not done by natural means, but he finally resolves it into this, that God's faithfulness will not suffer men to be deceived. We have the testimony of Testim Scripture that miracles were wrought. This testimony, of course, cannot be taken at once as decisive, for it is by the miracles that the truth of Scripture is to be established. Baxter is prepared for all this, and asks simply that we receive the testimony of Scripture as mere human testimony, and, this granted, he will prove that we have certainty of the miracles recorded in Scripture. The process of the argument is from the certainty of human testimony in general. We never doubt that there are such places as London or Paris, even though we may never have seen them, or that there were such persons as King James, Queen Elizabeth, or Queen Mary, though we know nothing of their existence but what we read in history. There is no ground for

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nesses not only had no advantage from their testimony, but made it at the risk of losing all they had,—their good name, yea, their lives. It was so with those who witnessed Christ's miracles. They knew the truth, and they testified. They had no object in deceiving. Moreover, their testimony has come down to us, and is so infallible that there can be no doubt about the truth of the records. Thousands of persons saw the resurrection of Jesus. Many cities and countries were witnessed by the Apostles. It was impossible that the records should be corrupted. The books were scattered among Christians all over the world. They never had an opportunity of meeting to consult about defacing the Scriptures. The more learned and honest among the Papists, as Baxter, 'maintain the perfection of the Hebrew text, and the argument from the improbability of miracles has more force in Baxter's time which it acquired in the new.' The miraculous still existed. Baxter could express his amazement at the incredulity of men who doubted that the manna in the wilderness, when he had seen the manna in England.* Human testimony is reasonable. Ordinary testimony to any ordinary fact, Baxter calls *ration*. On the certainty of this testimony alone is our foundation. We begin in everything by taking some trust from man.

Manna in
England.

Had Baxter stopped here, we might have praised his ingenuity, without supposing that any one was convinced by his arguments. But what always strikes the reader of Baxter is, that he says so many things, and then many things, perhaps immediately after, that are well said nor good in themselves. He goes on to

* 'They think the Scripture miracles incredible; and yet every age still hath such wonders as the next age will not believe. Why is not the raining of manna or quails from heaven as credible as the raining of that grain about ten years ago in

what sharp and hot. I kept some of it which leads of the church and Baxter's house in Bridgnorth preached the Gospel.'—*lasting Rest*, p. 223, note. Baxter mentions

argument to prove that the Scriptures are the word of God. CH
 The argument is, that they must either be the invention of men or devils, or they are from God. But they are too good for devils to invent. They must have been supernatural, because, though without human learning, they are such as the philosophers could not reach. Some of the old Puritans argued for the divinity of the Scriptures, from their manifest superiority to all human writings. Yet Baxter found their divinity in this, that they had so little in them of what was properly human excellence. They were full of David, not of Goliath. A third argument was from the fulfilment of prophecy, and the extraordinary providence of God over His Church. Christ, by His Apostles, after He had risen, wrought faith in multitudes of people. The success of the Gospel by such feeble agency was evidence to the fact of His resurrection. Great miracles have been wrought in answer to the prayers of the saints. The story of the 'thundering legion' is well known and well authenticated. The first enemies of the Gospel were visibly punished. Antiochus, Herod, Pilate, and Julian were public examples of divine retribution. Even so late as the silencing of the Nonconformists, it was manifest that divine justice did not sleep. Soon after the Act of Uniformity many of the churches of England were torn to pieces by lightning in the time of the service, and some persons killed as they sat in their pews. The fourth argument is, that if the Scriptures be not the written word of God, then there is no written word of God, but there *is* a written law, and this is it. It could not agree with the wisdom and goodness of God to leave men without a written law, and there is no book in the world whose claims can be placed beside those of the Bible. If all this fails, Baxter has yet in reserve proofs of what the Scriptures reveal concerning a future state. Can we deny that there is a devil, and that he has often appeared to men; and can we deny that there are witches, and that men make covenants with them? As to the certainty of witches, and Witch
 Fulfil
 proph

CHAP. IV. burning torches ; so that the great soul of Lu

quailed in the presence of the arch-fiend. But Bax
 niabile proof was the appearance of the devil at
 France, where he went out and in for the space
 months, conversing with people of both persua
 tholic and Protestant, and holding a public c
 with a Roman Catholic priest. Peter du Moulin
 blished all this on irrefragable evidence. But m
 soon forgotten. Fifty years after, when some pe
 from England to inquire concerning this visitat
 devil, the people of Mascon knew nothing about i

In 1655 Baxter published, as a further discou
 evidences, a book called 'The Unreasonableness
 delity.' He had as yet no infidels before him,
 Anabaptists, who, on the Pelagian side, became
 or, on the Antinomian side, Libertines, Familists
 and, of late, Ranters or Quakers. He maintain
 was evident, from the light of nature and the com
 principles of mankind, that there is a God, a life to
 rewards and punishments. He drew an argume
 the truth of Christianity from the fact that Chr
 the most rational of men, while unbelievers are
 like to brutes. The Spirit in the Church in the
 sanctifying men and working miracles, was an e
 the truth of the Christian religion. The argum
 in the 'Saints' Rest' are brought forward again, w
 material change. Baxter professes to determin
 tion, whether the miraculous works of Christ and
 ples oblige those who never saw them to beli
 though he treats of this question, he does not see
 seen the real difficulties that accompany it, su
à priori improbability of miracles, and the fac
 Gospel miracles come to us on the testimony of
 lived many centuries ago. He argues that the S

Christians the
 most rational
 men.

* This is the visit referred to by
 Reluc in 'Hudibras'.

Did not he help the D
 At Antinomian, their

Christian obliges him to believe works which he never saw. CH
The meaning of this seems to be that the fact of sanctification proves that all which the Christian records say is true. The certainty of miracles in the general argument is resolved into the certainty of human testimony, but that which really produces belief in Christianity is the Spirit of God purifying men's hearts, so that they feel it to be true. 'The melody of music,' Baxter says, 'is better known by hearing it than by reports of it; and the sweetness of meat is better known by tasting than by hearsay, though upon report we may be drawn to taste. So is there a spiritual sense in us of the effects of the Gospel in our own hearts, which will ever cause men to love it, and hold it fast.'*

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* Baxter says that when at Kidderminster, he was 'terribly assaulted with unbelief, and tempted to doubt if the Scriptures were the word of God. Then,' he says, 'I perceived that all other religions leave the people in their worldly, sensual, and ungodly state, even their zeal and devotion being commonly servants of their fleshly interests; and the nations where Christianity is not, being drowned in ignorance and earthly mindedness, so as to be the shame of nature.'—*Rel. Bax.*, p. 23.

In the *Reliquia Baxteriana* there are many things worth remembering. Baxter never used a surplice, and only sometimes read the service in the Prayer Book before the sermon. It appears that Bridgnorth, where he was curate before he went to Kidderminster, was not under episcopal jurisdiction. Six parishes, including Bridgnorth, had the minister of Bridgnorth for their ordinary. When the Scots army was about to enter England, the minister refused to pray against them, because there was no command from the king, but only from the bishops. At Kidderminster

images of the Trinity, and of the Virgin Mary, with some crucifixes, were still standing; Parliament ordered their removal, in the execution of which, the mob at Kidderminster sought to kill Baxter and his churchwardens. Baxter had generally to cure the bodies as well as the souls of his parishioners. Some of the prescriptions would edify the medical men of the present day. When a tumour rose on the tonsils of his throat, he swallowed a gold bullet, 'between 20s. and 30s. weight.' This was prescribed in some book as a cure for tumours of this kind. For £8 or £10 a year, Baxter was able to maintain youths at the universities. A minister named Farrington preached in a theatre, a *desecration* which gave great offence to King Charles II. Baxter laments that the writings of the ancient heretics and schismatics are destroyed. He suspects that the Fathers have not told us the honest truth about these men. He says, 'Freeholders and tradesmen are the strength of religion in the land, and gentlemen and beggars and servile tenants are the strength of iniquity.'

CHAPTER V.

THE RESTORATION.—THE KING'S DECLARATION.—THE
CONFERENCE.—EXCEPTIONS OF THE MINISTERS AG.
PRAYER BOOK.—THE BISHOPS' ANSWER.—BAXTER
NING.—BISHOP MORTON.—BISHOP COSIN.—BISHOP
BISHOP PEARSON.—BISHOP SANDERSON.—DR. HA
HERBERT THORNDIKE.—ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.
HOPKINS.—JEREMY TAYLOR.—JOHN GAULE AN
JEANES.—SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.—LIBERTY OF CONS
SIR THOMAS BROWNE.—SIR MATTHEW HALE.

Restoration of
Charles II.

AT the restoration of Charles II. only nine bis
vived out of the twenty-seven that had been
at the beginning of the Long Parliament. Th
Juxon, Pierce, Wren, Duppa, Skinner, Warner
King, and Roberts.* Archbishop Laud had pe
the scaffold. John Williams died in poverty in
country, after all his high preferments in Church a
Archbishop Ussher was for some years Chapla
Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. This office he

* The bishops stood thus in 1641;—

William Laud, Canterbury.
John Owen, St. Asaph's.
William Roberts, Bangor.
William Pierce, Bath and Wells.
Thomas Howell, Bristol.
Henry King, Chichester.
Roger Manwaring, St. David's.
Matthew Wren, Ely.

Accepted Frewen, Lich
ventry.

William Juxon, London.
Joseph Hall, Norwich.
Robert Skinner, Oxford.
John Towers, Peterbor
John Warner, Rocheste
Brian Duppa, Salisbur
Walter Curle, Winches
John Prideaux, Worces

as he became enfeebled by age. He died soon after, at the house of the Duchess of Peterborough, and was honoured by Cromwell with a public funeral at Westminster Abbey. Bishop Hall, too, had passed away, and so had John Prideaux, the learned Bishop of Worcester, and Ralph Brownrigg, 'the Puritanically affected' Bishop of Exeter, with Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, who, through a lifetime of almost a hundred years, had been a steadfast supporter of the old Protestant doctrines of the Church of England.

With the restoration of the King, there were some hopes that such changes would be made in the services of the Church as would enable all earnest men to conform with a good conscience. The king found the Presbyterian ministers among the best upholders of his cause. Encouraged by his promises, they laid their case before him, stating the things to which they objected, and suggesting the changes which were likely to be the means of including all parties within the national Church. They took it for granted, they said, that on doctrine all parties were agreed. Their only difference concerned Church government, and some particulars about the service and ceremonies. They asked the king that care might be taken to provide for every parish a learned, orthodox, and godly minister, who might instruct the people by diligent preaching and frequent administration of the sacraments. They asked that none might be admitted to the sacrament of the Supper till they had understood the principles of the Christian religion; and further, that the king might take some effectual course to secure 'the sanctification of the Lord's day.'

The Presbyterian ministers, as they were called, protested that though in taking the Covenant they had disclaimed 'hierarchy' and 'prelacy,' yet they had never renounced 'the true, ancient, primitive Episcopacy' of the Church. They had only maintained that, to secure just and impartial government, the bishop should always act in conjunction with a presbytery. In the Episcopacy which existed before 1640 there were evils which urgently required a remedy, four

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persons. Those bishops who supposed a bishop and a presbyter belonged to two distinct orders, assumed for themselves the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction. A fourth evil was, that bishops had been arbitrary in the exercise of this power, and that they had imposed constitutions and ceremonies not required by law, both upon ministers and people. To prevent the return of these evils, the ministers suggested the adoption of the scheme of conciliation laid down by Archbishop Ussher. Part of this scheme was the appointment of suffragan bishops in large parishes. They asked that no oaths or promises of obedience should be required of bishops, nor unnecessary subscriptions or engagements be made necessary for ordination or institution, and that bishops may not have the power to exercise arbitrary government at their own will and pleasure, but be subject to canons and constitutions ratified by Act of Parliament.

The Presbyterians are satisfied that there should be a liturgy.

Concerning the service of the Church, the ministers were satisfied that there should be a liturgy. They only asked the matter of it to be agreeable to the will of God, and suited to the necessities of the Church. The liturgy should not be dissonant from the liturgies of other Churches, nor too rigorously imposed. The object of the last request was that the minister might have a full opportunity of exercising those gifts of prayer which God had given for the edification of His Church. As the Book of Common Prayer had been long laid aside, and contained many things which were 'justly offensive,' the ministers asked that a commission might be granted to compile a new Prayer Book, or effectually to reform the present one. It was objected to the ceremonies that they were a matter of contention and endless dispute. Being indifferent, it was the duty, they said, of the Christian magistrate not to give offence to weak brethren by imposition. Kneeling at the sacrament, saints' days, surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, were mentioned as ceremonies the abolition of

them, and such like,' which had grieved many 'reverend and learned bishops,' and 'divers ministers of the gospel,' though conformable to the 'established ceremonies.'

Charles sent forth a 'Declaration' to his 'loving subjects,' concerning ecclesiastical affairs.' He told them of the experience which he had acquired among the Reformed Churches abroad. He said that the learned men of these Churches regarded the Church of England as 'the best fence God had yet raised against Popery in the world.' He would restore the Church of England to its old dignity and power. He had been attended, he said, by Presbyterian ministers in Holland, whom he had found to be no enemies either to Episcopacy or the liturgy, and well affected towards himself. He would repeat what he had said in his 'Declaration' from Breda, that 'no man would be called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion.' In his own chapel he had used the liturgy without imposing it on the nation. But owing to seditious pamphlets and jealousies that had been stirred up in the hearts of the people, he was compelled to give some decision as to religious differences until a synod should be called for that object. He would not enforce some ceremonies which, though introduced by the piety, devotion, and order of former times, were not so agreeable to the present. He would take care that 'the Lord's day' be kept holy. He would promote to the office of bishops none but men of learning, piety, and virtue, and he would see that they were frequent preachers. Suffragan bishops were to be appointed in all dioceses. No bishop was to ordain without his presbyters. And that the bishops might always have judicious and pious presbyters to help them, deaneries and all cathedral preferments were to be given to the most learned and pious men in the Church. The king promised that care would be taken as to the admission of persons to the Lord's Supper, in accordance with the request of the ministers. He promised also that no bishops should be allowed to exercise arbitrary power; and to promote peace and uniformity, he was to appoint 'an

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In the meantime some of the Presbyterians w
chaplains to the king. Baxter, Calamy, and Reyn
offered bishoprics. Manton, Bates, and some o
offered deaneries. Baxter was willing to accept a
provided the king's 'Declaration' became law. L
to wait till he saw some certainty of the changes w
promised. Hyde pressed him for an immediat
and that answer was a refusal. It had been agree
Baxter, Calamy, and Reynolds that they shoul
gether, either in accepting the bishoprics or in
them. Calamy complained that Baxter had act
Reynolds had done the same, but he pleaded that h
had taken out a *cong   d'  lire* unknown to him.
was committed to Presbyterianism more than eith
or Reynolds, and all his friends felt that if he
bishop he would lose his good name. Manton a
cepted the deanery which was offered to him, b
afterwards refused.

The Savoy
Conference.

Next year the king issued a warrant for a conf
the Prayer Book.* The bishops and Presbyterian
meet 'to advise, consult, and determine' upon th
to be made. Their place of meeting was to be at
ings of the Master of the Savoy, who was also
London. The Presbyterians understood that they
advise and consult' with the bishops. The bisho
stood that they were to sit as judges. On the fi
their meeting, the Bishop of London told the min
they had sought the conference, and therefore it re
them to bring forward their exceptions, with th
tional alterations. In this demand there was not
ticularly unfair. It was clever dealing, and the s
was not conciliatory. Bishop Sheldon, who ma
the bishops, was a shrewd man of business. Richar
who was the ruling spirit on the other side, was

* On the Bishops' side :—Arch- On the Presbyterian si
bishop Frewen, Bishops Sheldon, Reynolds, Doctors Tuckn
Cosin, Warner, King, Henchman, Spurstow, Wallis, and M
Mant, Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds.

for this world. The Presbyterians at first objected, on the ground that it was an open conference, according to the king's warrant. At last they consented to the plan which Bishop Sheldon had proposed. Bishop Burnet conjectures that Sheldon foresaw that the multitude and minuteness of the Presbyterian objections would raise an outcry against them as men who could never be satisfied. CH

The paper of exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer was indeed formidable, if we look only to its length and the number of changes proposed. The ministers expressed their 'honourable esteem' of 'the first compilers of the public liturgy.' They called the liturgy itself 'an excellent and a worthy work.' They said it was no disparagement, either to the liturgy or to its compilers, if, after a hundred years had passed, some further emendations required to be made. After this preamble, the ministers suggested some general changes. They wished that the liturgy might not be charged with more than was necessary, that it might not contain any matters of mere private opinion, or what concerned Church pomp, garments, or prescribed gestures. When the liturgy was composed, there was a good reason for departing as little as possible from the forms in use among the Roman Catholics. That reason had now ceased, and it was thought desirable that the liturgy be made so as to gain the affections of all Protestants who agree with the Church of England in the substantial of religion. The responses by the people were to cease: except only at the close they were to signify their consent by saying *Amen*. This was an old and curious objection against the liturgy, grounded on the Puritan principle, that 'the minister was the mouth of the people to God in prayer.' The ministers objected to keeping Lent as a fast, and especially in imitation of Christ's fasting forty days. They objected also to saints'-days and their vigils. They asked that the liturgy might not be so imposed as to prevent the minister 'exercising his gift' in prayer; a liberty which was allowed even in the first Prayer Book of The n
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Book.

CHAP. V. lessons, the use of the words *priest* or *curate*, and portions of the Scriptures 'Epistles,' which were too long. They asked an improved version of the psalms to be sung in the churches, the laying aside of obsolete prayers, and that, considering the want of discipline, the members of the Church should not assume all persons to be reformed, converted, and in an actual state of grace. The prayers were said to be too short, and the parts not in harmony with each other. It was suggested that they should be put into one long, methodical prayer. The Confession was considered defective, because it did not clearly speak of sin, nor sufficiently enumerate actual sins and their excu- sations. The matter of the prayers was considered too general, not descending to special petitions; and the Sacrament of the Eucharist was declared defective, even as to the essential elements of Christianity. Complaint was also made of the impropriety in the litany, that the minister must wear a surplice, and the sign of the cross in baptism, and administer the Holy Communion only to the people kneeling. As these things were by some reckoned 'sinful,' the imposers, it was said, should not give occasion of offence to a weak brother.

Special objections.

Under the general were added some special objections. The ministers asked that the rubric, which prescribes that the prayer to be said 'in the accustomed place,' be changed to the rubric of the second book of Edward VI., that the minister 'in such place of the church, chapel, or chancel, as the minister shall so turn, as the people may best hear.' The rubric about the vestments in the second year of Edward VI. was to be left out, as it seemed to bring in the cope, albe, and other vestments, forbidden by the rubric of the Common Prayer. The last clause of the Lord's Prayer was always to be added whenever that prayer occurred. The *Gloria Patri* to be used but once in the morning and once in the evening service, the lessons were never to be omitted, the Apocryphal *Benedicite* was to be omitted. In the list of deadly sins, fornication is included among deadly sins, as if, the reformers said, all sins were not deadly. For the reformers

for 'all that travel by land or water.' It was to be written, 'those that travel by land or water.' Several of the collects were to be altered, and especially the words 'this day' to be struck out both in the collects for Christmas Day and Whitsunday.

The chief changes were to be made in the offices of the Church. It was asked that before the communion a longer notice be given to the curate by intending communicants, and that he might have greater power in repelling improper persons from the sacrament; that the preface might be restored to the Ten Commandments; that the people be not enjoined to kneel when they are read, and that instead of the responses, the minister conclude with a suitable prayer. It was asked that preaching might not be left indifferent, as it seemed to be in the rubric, which enjoins the reading of a homily if there is no sermon. The rubric said that the homily was to be one of those already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth. The ministers thought they should not be bound to things not yet in being. Of the sentences in the offertory, some, they said, were Apocryphal, and others 'more proper to draw out the people's bounty to their ministers than their charity to the poor.' The collection for the poor, they thought, would be better made a little before the departing of the communicants than at the beginning of the service. In the 'exhortation' to be read when the people are 'negligent to come,' there were some things 'unseasonable' if it were meant to be read at the communion. It was thought that the rubric, which forbids any to come who have not 'a full trust in God, and a quiet conscience,' might discourage persons whose conscience is troubled. The confession was to be said by the minister alone. The rubric following the confession, directs that he shall stand up to say the absolution, 'turning himself to the people.' The ministers note here that 'this is most convenient throughout the whole service.' The words 'this day,' again occur in the collects for Christmas Day and Whitsunday. It was thought incongruous that these words

CHAP. V. The prayer at the consecration was not reck-
 — ciently explicit, because it said nothing of the
 breaking the bread. It was asked that the minis-
 use Christ's words as nearly as possible, that he
 be required to deliver the bread and wine into e-
 municant's hand, nor to repeat the words to each
 ing them singly; that the parishioners be not e-
 communicate thrice in the year; that kneeling m-
 to the choice of the people, as it was in the time
 Edward; and that the long rubric in King Edward
 Book, explaining that kneeling did not imply a
 presence of Christ's body in the elements, might be

Baptism.

On baptism, the ministers mentioned the scrup-
 many learned and pious men had about baptizing
 dren of unbelievers. It was asked that they mig-
 obliged to baptize such children till their parents
 a profession of their faith and repentance. A long
 than 'over night or in the morning,' was thought
 It was requested that parents might always stand
 for their children, or at least that it might be le-
 them either to have sureties or not. The font
 placed so as all the congregation might see and
 whole administration. A doubt was expressed if
 Jordan, and all other waters' were sanctified to a
 washing away of sin.' The interrogatories were
 addressed to the children, but to the parents, wh-
 be asked if they would have the child baptized in
 tian faith. The second prayer before baptism was
 not to be well expressed. It asked *remission of s-*
ritual regeneration. For this it was proposed to
 the prayer that the child 'may be regenerated, and
 remission of sins.' In the prayer after baptism,
 tion was made to giving thanks that the child
 regenerated by God's Spirit.' This was not true
 child, at least it was a question open to doubt
 baptism was never to be admitted, except by a
 — and where the child had been once bap-

The ministers proceeded next to the Catechism. They asked that the first three questions be altered, as the multitude of children baptized during the last twenty years had no godfathers nor godmothers. For 'made a child of God, a member of Christ, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,' they proposed to substitute 'visibly admitted into the number of the members of Christ, the children of God, and the heirs of the kingdom of heaven.' The answer concerning the number of sacraments was to be 'two only,' omitting the words 'as generally necessary to salvation.' After some more objections against promises made by sureties, grounded on the Presbyterian doctrine that the covenant is only made with the children of believers, the ministers suggested some additions to the Catechism, in the form of expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, and something about the essential doctrines of Christianity, such as faith, repentance, the two covenants, justification, sanctification, adoption, and regeneration.

The remaining offices are, Confirmation, Solemnization of Matrimony, Visitation and Communion of the Sick, and the Burial of the Dead. A rubric, which said that the baptized had all things necessary to salvation without Confirmation, was allowed to be well meant, yet it was supposed dangerous, as likely to mislead ignorant people. The requirements for confirmation were thought insufficient, and that instead of the capacity to say certain articles of belief, it should be required of those to be confirmed, that they be of perfect age and instructed in the Christian religion. There was a rubric at the end of the Catechism which prescribed that the person to be confirmed 'shall be brought to the bishop by one that shall be his godfather or godmother.' The ministers thought this seemed to bring in other sureties besides those in baptism, and they could not see the 'need either of the one or the other.' The prayer before the imposition of the bishop's hands supposes the persons to be confirmed, regenerated and their sins forgiven, which certainly the ministers said, is not the case, for many show no

- CHAP. V. goodness. The ministers referred to Art. XXV. says, that confirmation is a 'corrupt following of the Apostles.' They thought, also, that making it seemed raising it to the dignity of a sacrament. Art. XXV. says that 'confirmation hath no visible sign appointed by God.' It was also desired that confirmation might not be made so necessary to communion that none might be communicants without it. The old
- Matrimony. the Marriage service were the use of the ring, its connection with Roman Catholic superstition and expression, 'with my body I thee worship,' because of the obsolete use of the word 'worship;' the performance of the ceremony in the name of the Trinity, lest it should be supposed a sacrament; the words, 'till death us do part,' the minister going to the table to read the psalms, the minister turning to the people; the words, that matrimony is a sacrament, created to 'an excellent mystery,' which also countenance the opinion that it was a sacrament. At last, lastly, the rubric, since changed, that 'the new ministers the same day must receive the holy communion.'
- Visitation of the Sick. the Visitation of the Sick it was recommended that the minister should have more liberty to vary his manner according to the different necessities and conditions of persons. It was also asked that the absolution be absolute and conditional, and that in the Communion the minister might have a discretionary power of admitting or refusing the sacrament. In the Burial
- Burial of the Dead. Dead a rubric was required which might explain why the service was not read for the benefit of the dead, for the instruction and comfort of the living. In the meeting the corpse at the church stile, it was proposed that the minister might use his own judgment, and that if the weather was inclement he might be allowed to perform the whole service in the church. The words 'in sure and certain hope' were not to be said over 'persons dying in open and notorious sins.' Even the large rubric does not allow us to assume that these have

the woman was to kneel nigh unto some place where the table stands. The ministers said, that in some churches this was not convenient. A change in the psalm read at this service was recommended, and a rubric concerning the churching of unmarried women. The rubric enjoining that the woman must offer accustomed offerings, 'seemed to sound like a Jewish purification;' and another rubric that she must receive the Holy Communion, could not be well enforced, for 'a scandalous sinner may come to make this thanksgiving.'

To the exceptions of the ministers the bishops made a The Book answered minute and full answer. They thought the best way to preserve peace was to keep to the liturgy, so that they might all speak the same thing. The alterations required to please the ministers would give offence to others. To the first general proposal, they answered that there was no private opinion in the liturgy; everything there was either evidently according to the word of God, or what has been generally received in the Catholic Church. The private conceptions of prayers before and after sermons were declared more likely to be the means of introducing private opinions into public worship. They denied that the liturgy was burdened with matters of church pomp, garments, and prescribed gestures. It was compiled in such a way as neither Romanist nor Protestant could justly find fault with it. The Book answered The first never charged it with positive errors, but only with the want of something supposed to be necessary. It was acceptable to those to whom the name of Protestant most properly belongs,—that is, those who profess the Augustan Confession. The responses were defended for the very reason that the ministers sought to remove them. They served to quicken devotion, and were said to be certainly more edifying than a long and tedious prayer. The custom of keeping Lent as a religious fast was a custom received from the earliest times, and was always observed by the Catholic Church. This is also true of saints' days. They are not, indeed, of divine institution, but Christ Himself kept the feast of dedication, which was a festival of human origin. As to leaving

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nocent cere-
monies.'

and not in extempore expressions, which were at the command of any man of natural parts, having a volubility and audacity. If there was any such gift as that which the ministers called the gift of prayer, it was to be found in the prophets and the order of the Church. The Council of Carthage knew how to prevent the mischiefs that arose from extempore prayers, when they forbade any prayers except those prescribed by public authority. They were given why the Books of the Apocrypha should not be read in Church was, that all things necessary to be believed were in the Holy Scriptures. To this the bishops answered that the same argument would make sermons unnecessary, if they wished that all sermons might be as profitable as the discourses contained in the Apocrypha. The communion service had always been read at the communion table, and there was no sound reason for changing this custom. The word minister was not always convenient, as sometimes there were offices performed by a deacon, and sometimes by a priest. No sober person, it was said, could be content with the word curate, which properly signifies one to whom the bishops commit the care of souls. The use of the word regenerated and converted, as applied to all professing members of the Church, was defended from the example of Paul to the Corinthians and the Galatians, where he called them Churches of God, sanctified in Christ Jesus. Many members of these Churches were known to be far from being sanctified. In charity he applied to them that character which belonged only to the regenerate. The construction and order of the Collects were preserved, and their general character, as meeting the needs of Christian worship. There was no need, it was said, of confession of original sin. That had been washed away in baptism. Then came 'the three nocent ceremonies' which had from the beginning been a sore burden to the Puritans,—the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the communion. The reasons against them were that they were not prescribed in the Scriptures.

stumbling-block to the weak brethren; and that they had been the fountain of many evils to the Church and nation. The bishops said that the Church had always the power of imposing whatever was conducive to the decency and propriety of public service; that of this the superiors, and not the inferiors, were to be the judges. If persons are offended with these ceremonies, it is not the imposers who lay the stumbling-block in the way. By 'vain scrupulosity' they offend themselves. If their consciences are tender, the most easy way to have them satisfied is to obey their superiors. Much had already been written of the lawfulness of these ceremonies; the bishops would therefore only add, that decent ornaments and habits preserve reverence. They are held necessary to the solemnity of royal acts and acts of justice, and may as well be necessary to the solemnity of religious worship. No habit, they said, can be more suitable than the white linen, which resembles purity and beauty. The cross was always used in baptism in the earliest times. By its use, we testify our communion with the Christians of the first ages, and declare that we are not ashamed of the cross of Christ. The posture of kneeling was thought to be most convenient for the communion. When it was the custom to stand at the prayers of the Church, then the sacrament was received by the people standing. Now that we kneel when we pray, it surely would not be becoming to adopt a less reverent posture at the communion. Against sitting, the bishops offered this memorable argument, that if any one in this posture were to ask a prince to give his seal, it is not likely that he would give it.

When they came to the particular objections to the services, the bishops had as little to change as in the ceremonies. The place in the church for reading the prayers was best left to the judgment of the ordinary. It was thought best that the rubric about the vestments should continue as it is. The last clause of the Lord's Prayer is not in St. Luke, nor in the old copies of St. Matthew, nor used in the Latin Church; it was therefore omitted by the bishops.

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or baptism, which are distinct services. The being so short, and yet so solemn a confession of the Trinity, should not be considered a burden to any liturgy. The singing of the lessons was explained as only distinct reading, and the *Benedicite* was done on the same ground as the *Te Deum* or the *Veni* which the ministers had not made any objection to. The alterations suggested in the litany were described as 'nice,' that they could only be proposed by men 'given to change.' In the Communion Service the objection was against kneeling when the Communion were read. The bishops could not see why they should not on their knees ask pardon for having broken the divine laws, and grace to be enabled to keep them in time to come. The homilies were defended on the ground that many livings were so small that they could not retain a preacher. Moreover, to read a homily, it was as much preaching the word as a man reading it. The sentences, the exhortations, the minister's turban, all the other parts of the service to which the ministers objected, were defended by the bishops. The rubric of the rubric from King Edward's Prayer Book was retained because the danger now was not idolatry but profanity.

All children
to be baptized.

The first request as to the service of baptism was that the children of unbelieving parents should not be baptized. The bishops thought it too hard to punish the parents for the parents' sake.' The Church charitably held that Christ will accept every infant. It was deemed an erroneous doctrine, and the ground of many objections, that children have no right to baptism unless their parents are believers. It is found in St. Augustine that he was bidden to leave it to the choice of the parents whether or not they should have sureties. The font, in primitive times stood at the church door, to signify that baptism was the entrance into the Church mystical. Jordan and the waters are declared to have been so far sanctified as to be the matter of baptism. The ministers

tion with remission of sins. The bishops do not seem to have understood the nature of the objection. They answer by defending the position that baptism is regeneration, and that in baptism we have remission of sins. Every child is regenerated in baptism. God's sacraments always have their effects, when the receiver does not 'place a bar' against them, which children cannot do. This benefit, conferred always in baptism, was the ground of defence for private baptism. It was thought better that a child should be privately baptized than not at all.

Coming to the Catechism, the bishops objected to removing the interrogatories because during the last twenty years many children had no godfathers or godmothers. Rules were not to be altered for other men's irregularities. 'Inheritors' was explained to mean the same as 'heirs.' The words, 'generally necessary to salvation,' were said to be a reason of the answer why there are only two sacraments. To the objections against sureties it was answered, that the effect of the sacrament depends neither on the faith of the parents nor the sponsors, and as for the proposed additions to the Catechism, the answer was, that it was not intended for a body of divinity, but for articles of faith suited to children and common people. As to the rubric before Confirmation, which says that those who are baptized have already all things necessary to salvation, the bishops said they could see no reason to fear misleading the vulgar by teaching them truth. St. Augustine says he is an infidel who teaches the contrary to be true. The requirements of the candidate for confirmation were regarded rather as what is necessary than as what is sufficient. It is charitably presumed that all baptized persons have not totally lost the grace conferred in baptism, and, therefore, in confirmation there is a prayer for the increase in them of the gifts of grace. That this rite should be administered only by the bishop, was defended as the ancient custom of the Church, and from this custom an argument was drawn for the superior

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CHAP. V. of hands is not a sacrament, but it is declared to fit sign to certify 'the persons of what is ther them.' This is explained by the language in 'they laid their hands on them, and they received Ghost.' The ring in marriage was allowed to be institution. It is given as a pledge of fidelity and love. We have no such reasons for its use as are the Roman Catholic ritualists. Blessing in the na Trinity does not make a sacrament, and surely, th said, the words of Scripture, that marriage is a r tion of the union between Christ and His Church, have given offence to the ministers. Marriage be lemn covenant, it was thought more becoming tha be followed by the communion than by licentious. The absolution in the Service for the Sick was s more agreeable to the Scriptures than one merel tory, and it was not thought proper that the minis deny the 'viation' to any sick person humbly d. As to the Burial of the Dead, the bishops said, th changes were not meant for tender consciences tender heads, a cap would do better than a rub words of hope and charity may be pronounced graves of all of whom we dare not say that they It is better to hope for the best than rashly to In the Churching of Women it was thought best woman should kneel near to the holy table, becau offering she was to make. The bishops said, th the ministers need not fear Popery, for in the C Rome the woman has to kneel at the church door woman is unmarried, she is to do her penance bef churched. Offerings are required under the Gosp as under the law, and a time of thanksgiving is t fit time for an oblation. The bishops made some co but they were not many, and consisted chiefly alterations. All of them, however, were not adm the Prayer Book was revised,* and some were then which the bishops at the Conference refused t

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of the Dead
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mended.

The Commission was limited to four months. By the time the exceptions and answers were made, only ten days remained. The Presbyterians begged a personal conference, in which they might discuss the questions at issue. This was granted. Dr. Pearson, Dr. Gunning, and Dr. Sparrow were on the episcopal side. Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacomb, and Richard Baxter represented the ministers. Gunning was a man of war. He had been in the arena with Roman Catholics, Baptists, Socinians, and almost every sect that had risen during the time of the Commonwealth. Theological controversy was the breath by which he lived. Baxter's life, too, had been a warfare against heresy. Agreement was hopeless when two such veterans were pitched against each other. Baxter made long speeches, and the bishops interrupted him. At last Bishop Cosin offered a paper as if from 'some considerable person,' proposing a way of reconciliation. This was, that the ministers should put down what they thought sinful in the doctrine or discipline of the Book of Common Prayer; or, if they thought nothing sinful, to propose what they desired as expedient. To this the ministers agreed. They had no fault to find with the doctrine of the Church. But they thought it contrary to the word of God that ministers should not be allowed to baptize without using the sign of the cross, to pray without the surplice, to administer the communion except to those that knelt, and to be obliged to say of every baptized infant, whether or not its parents are believers, that it is regenerated by the Holy Ghost. It was declared contrary to the word of God that a minister should be compelled to give the sacrament to unworthy persons; to pronounce absolution on all those who desired it; to give thanks for all who were buried, as brethren whom God in mercy had taken to Himself; and to be compelled to declare that there was nothing contrary to the word of God in the Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, or the XXXIX. Articles of Religion. These subjects furnished matter for the disputants during the few remaining days of the Commission. They broke

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The Prayer
Book revised
by Convoca-
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was ever offered of uniting into one Church the parties that represented between them the religion. Every impartial man will owe the bishops that they were not more anxious for reconciliation victory; and, at the same time, every impartial utter a regret that the Presbyterian ministers, as called, were not wiser in their generation.

While the Commission was still sitting, a Convocation had begun to meet. In the first session after the the Savoy Conference, the Convocation entered consideration of the Prayer Book. Many additions made, and alterations to the number, it has been more of six hundred. But scarcely one of these alterations of a kind likely to conciliate the Puritans. On the contrary, some things were made more offensive. The 'priest' was substituted in several places where formerly was 'minister.' 'Bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church,' was changed into 'bishops, priests, and ministers' and not content with the Apocryphal lessons already in the calendar, they added the extraordinary story of Belshazzar's Dragon. The revised book passed the Commons by a majority of six, and with it some rigid laws, which the bishops tried to mitigate. The Commons showed great jealousy of Laud's peculiar doctrines might be introduced in the new book.* But the doomsday of the Puritans had come. The bishops had doubtless received 'hard measures' and they were ejected from their sees. Now by the revised Act of Uniformity they lead a triumph over a fallen enemy and in the spirit of those to whom it is said—*Recompense her even as she rewarded you, and in the cup which she has filled fill to her double.*†

* Dr. Cardwell says that this fear was not without grounds. There is still in existence a corrected book in MS., prepared for this Convocation, and carrying so much the appearance of authority, as to contain minute instructions for the printer. The corrections are in the handwriting of

strong indications of such respecting the real presence in the Eucharist, and prayers for the living as were entertained by the Puritans and became afterwards the distinguishing creed of the dissenting clergy.

† The bishops stood thus

Of the bishops who died between the death of Charles I. and the restoration of Charles II., besides those already mentioned as writers, there is only one who requires special notice. This is Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham. His works belong to the early part of that century. As he lived to a great age, he had seen the Church in all the vicissitudes of its history back almost to the days of Archbishop Parker. Morton was a true descendant of the old Elizabethan Churchmen. In his youth he had defended the ceremonies against the Puritans.* In his mature age he had battled against the innovations of Laud. He was promoted to the bishopric of Chester in 1616. When King James was in the northern counties the people gave expression to their feelings of loyalty by an increase of Sunday revelling. It is said that Morton remonstrated with James, and to this difference between the king and the bishop some have traced the origin of the 'Book of Sports.'† But Morton's chief controversies were with the Church of Rome. He wrote 'A Catholic Appeal for Protestants,' and a treatise on the 'Institution of the Sacrament.' He said that the word 'mass' was more applicable to the Communion in the Church of England than to the Eucharist as it is celebrated in the Church of Rome. The settling of this depends on the meaning of the word. Some trace it to *Missah*, the Hebrew word for an

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Bishop
Morton

Origin
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Henry King, Chichester.
William Lucy, St. David's.
Matthew Wren, Ely.
John Gauden, Exeter.
William Nicholson, Gloucester.
Nicholas Monk, Hereford.
Hugh Lloyd, Llandaff.
Robert Sanderson, Lincoln.
John Hackett, Lichfield and Coventry. (1661.)
Gilbert Sheldon, London.
Edward Reynolds, Norwich.
Robert Skinner, Oxford.
Benjamin Laney, Peterborough.
John Warner, Rochester.
Humphrey Henchman, Salisbury.
Brian Duppa, Winchester.
George Morley, Worcester.

* His early controversies were with William Ames, generally called Amesius.

† There are other accounts of the origin of the 'Book of Sports' not so creditable to Morton. Some say that he was really the author of the book, others make it a compromise between him and the king. Here is the account given by Mr. Perry in his History of the Church of England.—'In his progress through Lancashire last year, the king had been offended at a Puritanical strictness in the observation of the Lord's day, which he found prevalent. It was represented to him that the Papists were gaining much influence through the rigours insisted

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offering. Morton prefers the other derivation *est*, the words at the end of the service dismissing who are not to communicate. In Roman Catholic all that choose may remain, though they be non-communicants; but in the Church of England the non-communicants are dismissed. In this sense the word *est* retained in the Augustan Confession. The Fathers, says Morton, call bread and wine a sacrifice, but they never reckoned the body and blood of Christ the subject matter. They speak of a bloody sacrifice in the Eucharist in the same way that they call baptism a sacrifice because it was a representation of Christ's death. In agreement with this, they called the communion table frequently by their proper name of tables than by the derivative name of altars, which they would not have done if they had been proper altars.

Morton was succeeded in the diocese of Durham by Bishop Cosin. Cosin, who was one of the chief speakers at the conference.* He had come into some repute in the reign of Charles I., and was reckoned among the supporters of Archbishop Laud. He had published a book of homilies which might have passed for Laud's. It was handled by William Prynne, who had always asserted the presence of the new heresy. Cosin had been a Prebendary of Durham Cathedral by Bishop Neile, one of the earliest promoters of what was called Arminianism. He was impeached by the Commons at the instigation of Peter Smart, another prebendary. The charges against him were that he had placed the table in Durham Cathedral *altarwise*; that he had officiated in front of it with his back to the people; and that he had worn some unbecoming ornaments in the performance of the service. He was, as we have seen, at the conference concerning Rites and

* Richard Baxter says:—'Bishop Cosin was there constantly, and had a great deal of talk with so little logic, natural or artificial, that I perceived he was of a rustic nature. He was not a learned man, and his councils, and Fathers, were remembered, when by citing them we tried him. The charge against him was that he was of a rustic nature, and his councils, and Fathers, were remembered, when by citing them we tried him. The charge against him was that he was of a rustic nature, and his councils, and Fathers, were remembered, when by citing them we tried him.'

tagu's books in company with the leaders of that party. CHL
Again, in 1626, we find him in the same company when he preached the sermon at the consecration of Francis White.* Bishop sermon consecrated of Bishop White.

This sermon bears the marks of a period when the two parties were both powerful, and both determined to have the victory. Cosin exalts the bishops collectively to that place in the Church which, in the Church of Rome, belongs only to the Pope. Through the bishops comes that 'ghostly power' which is the strength of the Church for ever. The clergy derive this grace from the bishops, and together they are the salt of the earth, without which nothing can be savoured. The sermon is not controversial; but at such a time, and on such an occasion, it would have been impossible to let pass the opportunity of setting forth the errors of those who did not take this view of the bishops and the clergy. The Puritans—by this term we mean those earnest Churchmen who were not of Cosin's party—had always believed that 'a minister's first duty was to preach the Gospel.' So far King James was on their side at the Hampton Court Conference. It was by preaching that they had acquired their influence in England. The other party could not say that preaching was not an important part of a clergyman's duty, but they tried to lessen its importance. They wished to exalt the priest above the preacher. Cosin said that he had not come there to preach down preaching, but he did wonder that some ministers should think preaching an independent office, 'as if we were all bishops when we preach.' He said that orders did not confer authority to preach the Gospel. In virtue of our ordination we may offer up the prayers and sacrifices of the Church, administer sacraments, bind and loose, but the 'book says we are not to preach unless we be thereunto appointed.' It is the office primarily of a bishop to preach, but of a presbyter only when 'thereto licensed by the bishop himself.'†

Cosin does not seem to have taken the side of his friends on the question of the Sabbath. He said that it was Cosin on Sabbath

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morally binding on us to keep holy one day. He thinks Calvin wrong in supposing the day changed at our pleasure, or not kept so frequently in seven. And he thinks that by Scripture and consent of the Fathers, the day must be the first, in memory of the Resurrection. So far a Puritan, but no further. He says nothing of the Sabbath. When he explains the Fourth Commandment, he says that all the Jews' Sabbaths being gone, it can only mean, 'Remember to keep the festivals.' The Sunday is made holy in the same way as all consecrated things or persons are set apart from a common use, as priests and magistrates are set apart. It is holy as the water in baptism, or the bread and wine in the communion. No Sabbatarian would object to this explanation of the holiness of the Sunday. But it is incompatible, surely, with the morris-dances, the 'church ales,' or the Sunday may-pole on the green.

Cosin on the
History of the
Canon of
Scripture.

Bishop Cosin's chief works were connected with Catholic controversy. He wrote a 'Scholastical History of the Canon of Holy Scripture.' In this work he gives the history of all the books that were held canonical by the Council of Trent made a new canon. He shows that the universal testimony of the Church was for the canon which we have, without the Apocryphal writings. The number, he said, was fixed, and there is no doubt of the books they were. Individuals may have objected to some of them. At different times doubts may have been raised about their genuineness, but none of them have been rejected by entire Churches. Cosin does not look at the internal testimonies which the Scriptures bear that they are divine, but he does not raise this internal testimony to the same certainty as the external. He depends on the constant testimony of the Catholic and universal Church. On this subject we cannot draw a distinct line between the Puritan and those of the High Churchman.

of the Church. Cosin is, in a great measure, free from the faults of both sides. His argument, as directed against the Church of Rome, is, that the Council of Trent had no right to add to the canon that had been hitherto received by the whole Catholic Church since the Apostles' days. The Jewish canon was fixed. Josephus testifies that it consisted of twenty books. This testimony is repeated by Eusebius. There are passages in the New Testament which show that Jesus and His apostles were familiar with the Apocryphal writings, yet never once do they allege a passage from them to prove a doctrine. Origen says that the Apocryphal books were not received as of equal authority with the Scriptures. To the same effect are the testimonies of all ecclesiastical writers in all centuries, as Cosin quotes them down to the Council of Trent. At that council Rome dared to defy the traditions and the authority of the universal Church.

Cosin wrote also 'The History of Popish Transubstantiation,' to which he opposed 'The Catholic Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, the Ancient Fathers, and the Reformed Churches, about the Sacred Elements and the presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist.' When we say Cosin taught that there was a *real presence* of Christ's body and blood in the Supper, we only affirm what was true of all orthodox Protestant divines. Even the Westminster Assembly had maintained a real though *spiritual* presence of the body and the blood. Cosin said that between his doctrine of the 'real presence' and the transubstantiation of the Church of Rome, there was 'a great gulf fixed.' He explained, as the Reformers had done, that when the Fathers call the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ, we are not to understand them according to the letter. It was the usual manner of speaking of sacraments, to give to the sign the name of the thing signified. The Fathers therein, Cosin says, explain in other places how their words are to be taken. They frequently call the sacramental bread and wine types, symbols, figures, and signs of the body and blood of Christ.

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Confessions on
the 'real pre-
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rhetoric. The metaphors of the Fathers were literal speeches by the men of later ages. Though he saw this, he persisted in using the old figure. Cosin does the same. He denies that the body is present, but he affirms at the same time that it is a spirit. How it can be a body when divested of the attributes by which it is a body, is *to be received and not inquired into by reason*. We eat the body, says, mystically. This word he uses as equivalent sacramentally. This again is equivalent to spiritual, though the body is only eaten spiritually, it is eaten as if it were a corporal eating. He quotes Bishop 'Diallactic,' where it is said 'the holy Eucharist is in itself the truth, nature, and substance of the blessed Saviour,' and that these words *nature and substance* are not to be rejected 'because they are used by the Fathers.' The difference is, that we have not Christ's bodily natural form. In the sacrament we have the mystical presence. The subject is the same, but the manner of presence is different. Cosin quotes also from Ambrose and Dominis, whom he claims as 'a sound Church of the sixteenth man.*' De Dominis, he says, has proved that for many hundred years the Church knew of no presence of Christ but the spiritual presence as it is received by the Reformed Churches. Cosin again quotes from the Swiss and Helvetian Confessions, which contain the doctrine of the Churches of Geneva and Scotland. In these Confessions we have the same distinction continually. The eating of Christ's body is called 'spiritual' and 'mystical.' It is said to be the substance of His body which is eaten, yea, 'the very substance which He took of the blessed Virgin.' How that body can be in heaven and yet be present in the Eucharist, is explained in these Confessions by the descent of the Spirit, which 'exceeds our sense and apprehension.' The body is present, and yet not as a body; for, though received by the communicants, it cannot be carried away by the consecrated bread. (This mode of speaking

telligible only when it is accompanied by such explanations as were given by Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, when they said that the body of Christ was eaten not in the Eucharist only, but in all acts of worship. This is not stated explicitly by Cosin; and it is perhaps here that we have the first marked difference on this subject between Laud's Churchmen and the Reformers. The latter said that the faithful eat the body of Christ and drink His blood always in their life of faith. The former limited the spiritual eating and drinking to the Eucharistic feast. The Church of Rome professes to offer Christ in the Supper. Andrewes and Bucke-ridge said that in the sacrament we offered Christ in His members. Cosin expressly denies that Christ is sacrificed in the Eucharist. CH.

The exact measure of the civil ruler's authority in the Church does not seem ever to have been well defined. Charles II. said that he had the power to excommunicate as well as the clergy. This was told to Bishop Cosin, who answered, that the King had no such power. That was a power derived from Christ 'in virtue of holy orders.' We have classed Bishop Cosin with the High Churchmen of his day, but in many things he was not a man of a party. He believed in bishops, and he believed that to bishops properly belonged the power of ordination. He thought this could be fairly inferred from the practice of the Apostles, but he could not say more for it. 'I would be loath,' he says 'to determine that those ordained by presbyters are no ministers.' It is not desirable that presbyters should make presbyters, yet their ordination is good and valid. 'It is,' he says, 'the judgment of learned and eminent men, both Catholics and Protestants, that presbyters have the intrinsic power of ordination *in actu primo*.' And that this was the doctrine of the Church of England, he brings forward the case of a French minister coming to incorporate himself with us. In such a case we do not re-ordain, and never did. Cosin says that if we are to consider the ministers of the Presbyterion Churches as unordained, we must excommuni- The civ-
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Bishop Wal-
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Brian Walton, who was made Bishop of Chester to the same class of Churchmen as Bishop Cosin deprived, in 1643, as one of 'the scandalous'. He had been incumbent of St. Martin's Orgar, Street. The parishioners petitioned against him nearly the same charges as were made against altars who held his views of the Church and its government. He had ordered the churchwardens to place the altar *wise* alongside of the wall. They refused. With the aid of the Bishop of Rochester and some other friends, he removed it himself. When this was done, he remained at the service in the reading pew and another altar. He refused to preach in the afternoon, and another to preach for him, though the parishioners petitioned to provide a preacher at their own charge. He explained also that he was non-resident all the summer, and left the souls of the people in 'the care of an ignorant minister with a salary *caught out of the revenue of the parish*'. He had made lawsuits to recover his tithes, and had spoken not too reverently of some of the men who came into power in the beginning of the Long Parliament. The tithe question was the occasion of Walton's first appearance as a writer. The London clergy, since the reign of Henry VIII., derived their incomes from the tithes of the parishioners. It had been fixed by Henry VIII. at ninepence in the pound. But the clergy could not get the exact sum, as they had no means of knowing the precise amount of the rents. They had sought to do so in the time of James, but nothing had been done. The parishioners petitioned Charles, who arbitrated in their favour. Walton's appearing as the advocate of the clergy against the citizens was not in his favour when the time came for the Parliament to receive petitions against *scandalous ministers*. Like the High Churchmen of his day, he was opposed to the Church of Rome and the Church of England. He was probably the first who used that comparison, which has often been repeated, that the Church of England

A scandalous
minister.

preparation of his 'Biblia Polyglotta.' It was a vast work, and the execution of it at such a time, and under such circumstances, bespoke a patient and a faithful soul. But the enemies that harassed the Church of England did not spare, he says, the labours of her sons. His object had been to assert the purity, integrity, and supreme authority of the original texts against those of Rome, and to reject the Jewish opinions received by the Puritans. But his was the lot of every man who has laboured to know the real truth concerning the Scriptures. Origen and Jerome had both been censured in their day for seeking to correct the current versions of the Bible, and Erasmus was denounced by the monks as a profane subverter of *the word of God*. John Owen said of the Bible critics, when speaking of Walton's Polyglott, 'they print the original and defame it; gathering up translations of all sorts, and setting them up in competition with it.' He said that Walton 'had taken away all certainty about sacred truth, and that now men had no choice but to turn Atheists or Papists.' It had really come to pass that 'men take upon them to correct the Scriptures, which are the *word of God*.'

Walton defended himself against Owen's objections. The vindication has a special value, as giving us the position which the better class of High Churchmen in that day took up in regard to the Bible. The inferences that Walton made truth uncertain, and subverted the foundations, not only of the Protestant religion but of Christianity, are, of course, denied. Walton had only rejected the authority of the Masoretic points, and he had compared the various readings that he might, if possible, determine the correct reading. These various readings, he said, were of no moment. They were but the casual mistakes of transcribers, and do not touch any doctrine. With the exception of these two things, the Hebrew points and the various readings, Walton was as much a Scripturalist as Owen. He maintained that the original texts had not been corrupted either by Jews, Christians, or heretics. He said

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scripts of the first autographs. The special pro-
God, Walton said, had watched over these writings
serve them pure and uncorrupt, and they will be
served to the end of the world, in spite of all sects
heretics. The various readings are all such as man-
tified and emended by collation of other copies.
an error crept into the original is not, Walton said,
rect the original, for no error can be a part of the
text. This, of course, was true only where the error
be demonstrated. That there were no errors in
beyond the reach of our criticism to discover was
by the previous argument, that it was against the ex-
istence of God and the fidelity of His Church, to
sacred oracles were committed, that they should be
rupted. Walton did not then take up the ground
generally taken by the doctors of the Church of Rome,
the Hebrew text is not to be trusted. He maintained
that it was possible for us to get a correct Hebrew
and that this was to be our guide. He could not
without a fling at the sectaries. The Church was true
of Holy Writ, but heretics and sectaries have ever
corrupt it. And this not only in old times, but in
they 'boldly endeavour to deprave it either in the
sense, or both.'*

When Walton left London for his bishopric, his
to Chester was like the triumphal march of a
monarch. His reception in the city was a great
Saluted by the train bands, amid the rejoicings of
titude, he hastened to the cathedral to give thanks
that at length peace and victory had come.

* Walton had twenty-eight assistants in his work. The greater part of them were among the deprived clergymen, as Ussher, Thorndike, Pocock, Hammond, Fuller, and Casaubon. Two at least were Presbyterians, John Lightfoot and Patrick Young. Some of them were not de-

was intense. We must remember when we try to make a man of the man. But what of him is not to be excused? His endeavour to perpetuate the spirit of the times in which he lived. During the last thirty years he had biographies of W

think of Walton as a stately Churchman. He loved pomp and splendour, but he loved work too. No man could have enjoyed the hour of triumph more than he, but the sand-glass of life was nearly run. He was consecrated in December, 1660. He went to Chester in September, 1661. Two months later he returned to London to attend the Convocation, where he was seized with a fatal sickness, and died.*

Some years later John Pearson, the author of the 'Exposition of the Creed,' was made Bishop of Chester.† All we know of Pearson's theology is from this work. It consisted originally of sermons to his parishioners when he was Rector of St. Clement's, Eastcheap. The 'Exposition of the Creed' is ponderously orthodox, but destitute of originality. It is a curious fact that this work was intended originally as a check to infidelity. But this was characteristic of Pearson's mind. He was a believing theologian, who never in any way understood the doubts which seem to be part of the nature of some men. He says in the preface that 'the principles of Christianity are now as freely questioned as the most controverted points; the grounds of faith are as safely denied as the most unnecessary superstructures.' To establish Christianity against the unbelievers of his day, he goes to the Creed, because the Creed leads to the Scriptures. Pearson divides revelation into two kinds—immediate and mediate, or that which is made to a man directly, and that which depends on the testimony of another. Those to whom God spoke immediately, knew and perceived the truth of what was revealed. They had it on the immediate testi-

* From all that can be learned of Walton's early history, he seems to have been of very humble origin. He had begun as a sizar at Cambridge, and before he was forty years of age, he had worked his way into three rectories—St. Martin's Orgar in the City, St. Giles's in the Fields, and Sandon in Kent, with a prebend's

have had nothing from them but Dr. Gunning's passionate invectives, mixed with some argumentations. He disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly (being but once in any passion), breeding in us a great respect for him, and a persuasion that if he had been independent, he would have been for peace, and that if all

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His definition
of faith.

mony of God. Other men have the same true manifestation, but by attestation. And this is faith. The people believed because of the miracle and of the Apostles. We give our assent to what is revealed, not as apparent or as probable, but only as true. In the exercise of this kind of faith Pearson saw that it was divine. He called it 'a spiritual act, imminent and known to no man but him who believeth.' The presence of what was taught was not denied. The pure doctrines of the Gospel, and their tendency to the righteousness of life, were acknowledged, but they did not form any essential part of the foundation of belief. It rests solely on testimony. Pearson denies that there is any 'connate, inbred notion of a God.' That knowledge comes to the naked soul by sensation, instruction, and rational reflection. This reflection, however, is not based upon a universal reason. The same distinction was made by Locke and his followers. But it is doubtful if a universal reason does not in the end mean the same as what was meant by connate notion.

Bishop Pearson was decidedly a Scripturalist, not of the Puritan class, who looked to the Scriptures alone, but of that class who regarded the Fathers in some way as infallible interpreters of the Scriptures. All the prophecies in the Psalms called Messianic are quoted as proof that Jesus was the Messiah. Jeremiah xxxi. 22 is supposed to be a prophecy that He was to be born of a virgin. In Proverbs xxx. 4, the words 'Who hath established the ends of the earth? What is his name? What is his name?' are thought to be a proof that God always

Of the Church
Catholic.

Pearson's definition of the Catholic Church was not shared by all Christians. He quotes what the Fathers said of the Church Catholic, and of the impossibility of being separated from it. But by the Catholic Church we can scarcely mean what they meant the same as Bishop Pearson meant. The word *Catholic*, as he shows, was a later addition to the term, and doubtless had its origin in one sect claiming

prove that our material bodies would rise again. In the translation of the Creed in our Church service it is said that we believe in 'the resurrection of the body.' In the Greek and Latin the words are 'the resurrection of the flesh.' The Creed of the Church of Aquileia reads 'of this flesh.' In the translation of the Creed in the service for Baptism the words are rendered according to the Greek and Latin. St. Jerome gave his reason why we should say 'flesh' and not 'body.' The reason was virtually a refutation of St. Paul's argument about bodies natural and bodies spiritual, terrestrial and celestial. 'Thou fool,' said St. Paul, 'thou sowest not that body that shall be.' 'Fool again,' answered the profound St. Jerome and the orthodox Bishop Pearson, 'we do sow that body which shall be.' The very flesh which is buried shall rise again, they said, and therefore the Creed should be, 'I believe in the resurrection of *the flesh*!' St. Jerome argues the matter in detail. While the orthodox by 'body' meant 'flesh,' the heretics, he says, by body might mean a spiritual body. Bishop Pearson endorses St. Jerome's arguments against St. Paul. 'The bodies of men,' he says, 'however corrupted, wheresoever in their parts dispersed, how long soever dead, shall hereafter be re-collected in themselves, and united to their own souls.' The particles of matter which form our bodies have formed the bodies of men who lived before us, and will form the bodies of other men in generations to come. How each will possess the same particles which belonged to many different bodies may be beyond our comprehension, but nothing is impossible with God. Pearson says it is not only possible that every body at the Resurrection shall consist of the same particles by which it was constituted here, but it is highly probable, and on Christian principles infallibly certain. The parts of the body do not perish; and He who made man at first can make him what he was before.

At the restoration of the King, Robert Sanderson was elevated to the see of Lincoln. Sanderson had held the

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On the Fourth
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living of Boothby Pagnell during all the changes of death of Charles I. He escaped by the simple not reading the Prayer Book, but using the prayer reading them. He was of the moderate party, not a Puritan, but in doctrine a decided Calvinist.* His works are chiefly of sermons, which have no theology per se in them. Among his smaller works there is a treatise on the Sabbath, in which he takes the side opposed to the Puritans. This name, he says, is altogether Jewish, and was never, till of late years, applied to our Sunday. That it is quite allowable, as its simple meaning is, is what Sanderson recommends that it be only sparingly used. We read the Fourth Commandment every Sunday in the Communion Service, and add a prayer that our hearts may be inclined to keep this law, there must be a sense that we acknowledge it to be binding on us. Sanderson says that these laws do not bind us, because they were only given to the Jews. They only bind us morally. The duration of the time of the seventh day was ceremonial, the substance of it is moral, which is, that we devote a certain time to holy rest from secular occupations, and may attend upon the public and solemn worship of God. Taking *jus divinum* in a wide sense, Sanderson says that keeping sacred one day in seven is of Divine position. The consequence of leaving it in the power of the Church to change the day at its pleasure would be evil. We have the obligation of keeping it from the Scriptures by the kind of reasoning that we infer the *Divine right* of

day before, and made a great matter of my telling the respondent of 'begging the question,' they put Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, into the chair, that his learning and gravity might put a reputation on his sentence (he being a very worthy man, but for that great peevishness which injuries, partiality, temperance, and age, had caused him). The bishop, in a few angry words, pro-

Sanderson, of Lincoln, was there, but never spoke the word, but what I have told you of his great learning and worth by his labours, and his age was not unknown. At his request that the ministers might be used in his request was rejected by him, had outwitted him, as being

* This we have gathered

or the distinction of orders in the Church. It is among those things which any particular Church may change, but, being long established and confirmed by ecclesiastical and imperial constitutions, it is not desirable that it should be changed. All this reasoning leaves it a very open question what kind of a Sunday we are to keep. We might have concluded that Sanderson meant to enforce a strict observance of one day sacred in seven. But he says that recreation is not to be condemned, such as walking and discoursing with men of liberal education. This is very good for scholars, but for the common sort of people Sanderson thinks that his Majesty's declaration has settled that. The common people prefer recreation which is loud and boisterous. They are to have shooting, leaping, pitching the bar, and stool-ball. These are said to be better for them than dicing or carding, but in all these games the bishop recommends *moderation*. They are to be so used as that the people may be more fitted for the service of God on the rest of the day.

In another treatise, called 'Episcopacy not Prejudicial to Royal Power,' Sanderson tries to explain the relations between the civil ruler and the rulers of the Church. When the Divine right of Episcopacy was first taught in England, the Puritans said that this was an infringement of the royal prerogative. Had the king and the bishops been on different sides, this might have been proved; but as they were on one side, each acknowledging the divinity of the other, they easily settled between them their respective rights. Charles published a 'Proclamation,' in which he pronounced the Ecclesiastical Courts and ministers to be according to the laws of the realm. He gave them greater licence than they had before. Summonses, citations, and other processes ecclesiastical in their Courts were henceforth to be issued without the King's seal. In the time of Edward all this was forbidden. The laws of Edward's reign were repealed, so that bishops might hold their visitations without the great seal of England. Sanderson explained the *jus dominium* of bishops as meaning a great deal less than it

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Dr. Henry
Hammond.

On Episcopa-
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Henry Hammond was appointed to the bishopric of Exeter, but he died before he was consecrated. He was a voluminous writer, and was engaged in all the controversies of his time that affected the Church of England. He wrote in Latin some Dissertations on Episcopacy, which were answered by the Provincial Assembly of London in a book called *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*. In this book, Hammond wrote 'A Vindication' of his opinions. There were peculiarities in Hammond's views of Episcopacy which require to be specially noticed. He stated the question between the Presbyterians and the Prelatists to be simply whether the Apostles constituted a common council, or whether in every Church there was a bishop with superior power and authority. This was undoubtedly the clearest statement of the case that had ever been made. It left the course of the argument to be an inquiry into the facts as they could be determined from Scripture and the writings of the age succeeding that of the Apostles. In accordance with this, Hammond, instead of deriving his argument from the names applied to the officers of the Church, tried to determine from the facts what the principles were which they held. The first root of authority in the Church was Christ's commission to His Apostles. Did the Apostles constitute a common council of society, or were they sent forth each with individual power as a planter and governor of the Church? The latter view, Hammond thinks, is evident. The first bishops which the Church made are also called apostles, as James the brother of the Lord at Jerusalem. Each of the Churches of Asia had a bishop as an individual governor, called the 'Angel of the Church.' The testimonies from antiquity are chiefly those of Ignatius, to whom are added testimonies from many other ancient writers.

The 'angels'

If the angels of the Asiatic Churches were bishops

mitted by both sides. The Presbyterians said that by 'angel' was here meant a college of presbyters. Hammond was to prove that 'angel' was a single person, and therefore a bishop. Each Church had its 'angel,' as Andreas Cæsariensis, the first commentator on the Revelation, said, 'the number of bishops is equal to the number of churches.' Among the Jews the chief priest was called an 'angel.' For this Hammond refers to Malachi, and he quotes from Photius these words, out of Diodorus Siculus:—'Him they call the high-priest, and deem him to be an angel or messenger of the commands of God.' The Council of Chalcedon reckoned up twenty-seven bishops in the see of Ephesus to their time, Timothy being the first. Polycrates, who affirms himself to have been the eighth Bishop of Ephesus, bears testimony to the fact of Timothy being the first bishop. So that either Timothy, or one of his successors, was the angel to whom the Epistle was addressed. The testimony of Irenæus, that Polycarp was Bishop of Smyrna, is often quoted. It is affirmed by Tertullian, who says, 'As the Church of Smyrna relates Polycarp to have been constituted there by John, as the Church of Rome affirms Clement to have been ordained by Peter, so in like manner the rest of the churches exhibit the records of those whom they have had for their bishops constituted by the Apostles and conveyors of the Apostolical seed to them.' By whatever name the 'angel' or bishop may be called, Hammond concludes that he was certainly a bishop in our modern sense of the word, 'a single overseer in the church.'

It was objected by the Presbyterians that, in the Revelation, St. John never uses the name bishop. He frequently speaks of presbyters. He calls himself a presbyter, and that when he is describing the office of those who are nearest the throne of Christ in His Church. If Polycarp had been made a bishop by St. John, it is strange that the word bishop never occurs in his writings, though he lived so long after the time when it is said the Church was governed by bishops. Hammond answers that we are not

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in St. John's writings, the Presbyterians would have as only meaning presbyter. So that the absence of the word affects the argument as little as if it had been present. Moreover, Hammond in the Dissertations had explained that there were four-and-twenty presbyters around the throne, and four-and-twenty bishops of Judea sitting in council at Jerusalem, encompassing James the Metropolitan, with the same authority as the four Apostles that were joined with them in the Council, and the seven lamps as the emblems of the seven deacons. Presbyter did not mean in the early Church what it means with us. It was then equivalent to bishop, and set over others with authority. John in this very passage calls himself 'the presbyter,' and yet he was an acknowledged superior governor of the whole Jewish Church in his own time. A Greek scholiast, speaking of this passage, said of it, 'By the word presbyter, he calls himself bishop.' The Presbyterians said that there was not the least intimation of the superiority of one presbyter over another in St. John's writings of the superiority of one presbyter over another, except the case of Diotrephes, whom he rebuked for affecting such a primacy. Hammond answers, that in admitting this, his argument is still good. He has maintained that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and that deacons; but presbyters in the modern sense of the word do not exist within the compass of the time in which the Epistles of the New Testament were written. This Diotrephes pretended for superiority, not only over his equals, but over St. John himself. 'He receiveth us not,' says St. John. This is not the primacy of bishops. They always acknowledged the superiority of Apostles.

The Presbyterians said that those very writers who called St. John made Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, and St. Peter made Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, say also that John himself was for many years Bishop of Ephesus and Metropolitan of all Asia. From this it is inferred that they did not use the word bishop in the modern sense. It was an Apostle, which was an office above that of a bishop. Hammond admits that the text is certain, and that

phanus says 'the Apostles were bishops.' A bishop in the prelatial sense is a governor of the Church, which John was at Ephesus and Peter at Rome. As planters of the Church they were apostles, as governors they were bishops. In later times canons were made, that no man should be a bishop without a title or particular see; but before these canons there were bishops that had no fixed dioceses. Such were the Apostles, who were bishops wherever they went. The Presbyterians again objected that the words 'angel' and 'star' were common to all ministers, and did not import any peculiar jurisdiction. Hammond denies that angel is ever applied in the Scriptures to any officer of the Church except to prophets, as in Haggai, to John the Baptist as in St. Matthew, and to the chief priests, as in Malachi. The stars are the same in number as the churches, which seems to limit the use of stars to bishops, or governors of the Church. Hammond admits that there is some force in the objection that a system of Church government is not to be built on such metaphorical words as we find in the Revelation. Yet he says that, though 'star' is allegorical, the word 'angel' is not. It is given rather as the explication of the mystery.

The point in the case of the seven angels of the Churches, on which the Presbyterians specially dwelt, was the use of the plural in the epistle to the Church of Thyatira. This, they said, was a proof that by 'angel' was not meant the bishop, but the presbytery, or council of ministers. Hammond's explanation is, that in an epistle addressed to a particular person, others under his care and charge may be occasionally mentioned. In the Epistle to Titus, Paul says in the end, 'Grace be with you all.' When the people of Israel or Judea fell into sins, God sent a prophet to the King to admonish him. The people were admonished in the King. Another way of solving this difficulty is a different reading. Some manuscripts read, 'But to you I say, the rest which are in Thyatira.' The Presbyterians said that the Church of Ephesus was a collection of persons.

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low that the Church was the angel. The angel depended on the plurality of elders. Hammond had given an exposition of these elders, which was against this argument. The elders of Ephesus were the heads of the other cities of Asia. Irenæus says St. Paul was careful to take his leave of them, as many as conveniently come to Miletus, as of the Bishop of Ephesus. Presbyterians said that it was usual in the Scriptures especially in mysterious writings like the Revelation to press a number of things or persons in singulars. A hundred members making one Church is a candlestick. The seven angels standing before God represent the whole Church. So the whole presbytery of ministers is the angel. The letters are addressed to the angels. Yet the words show that the singular means a plural: 'Do these works'—'This thou hast'—'Repent, and do these works.' In these words it is the whole Church that is addressed. Hammond answered that the Church is the angel. He does not deny the whole collective body of the Church have been addressed in the Epistle. Yet it is not reasonable to infer that the word angel means the whole Church.

The seven
'angels' the
metropolitans
of Asia.

Dr. Hammond supposed the seven cities of Asia to be the chief cities, and the bishops metropolitans. The Presbyterians said that this was improbable. The cities were not so near to each other, and most of them were on the sea-side. Hammond had an answer out of antiquity. Canonists and Fathers had owned them for primitive and apostolic sees. According to Pliny, five of them were cities where the Roman proconsuls held their courts or seats of government, and administered justice to the neighbourhood. It was this which made a city metropolitan. Under the Romans Ephesus as the chief of these metropolitans. Ignatius mentions Trallis and Magnesia as episcopal cities, and these seem to have been under the metropolitan of Ephesus. Clemens says that in every city where the Apostles converted, they appointed a bishop over them, who was the successor of the apostle, and should afterwards

the chief cities according to the priority in the Roman State. We need not suppose that in forming the Church, the Apostles copied the model of the Roman government. Yet it was natural that in every country to which they went, the polity of the Church would in some measure take its form from the civil polity. But we have not to go even to the Roman State for the ecclesiastical division of cities into metropolitan and inferior cities. It was the order instituted among the Jews. God commanded Moses to appoint judges and officers in every city, but in matters of weight they were to resort to the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, which was the chief city. The metropolitan sees did not begin, as the Presbyterians affirmed, when Constantine made Christianity the religion of the State. They began with the Apostles themselves, and the first founders of Christianity. At the Council of Nice, not many years after the conversion of Constantine, there was a canon made which began thus:—‘Let the ancient customs continue in force.’ One of the customs mentioned is, that ‘if any man be made a bishop without the judgment of the metropolitan, he ought not to be a bishop.’ A canon of the Council of Antioch began with the words, ‘The bishop which presides in the metropolis ought to know the bishops of every province.’

The commonly received theory of Episcopacy is, that the Apostles appointed in the churches presbyters and deacons, the Apostles themselves, while they lived, being bishops. After the death of the Apostles they were succeeded in their office of bishops by some of the presbyters who were elevated over the others. Hammond’s theory is, that the Apostles appointed bishops and deacons, but the presbyters, in the modern sense of presbyters, came in later. He agrees with the Presbyterians that bishop and presbyter in the New Testament always mean the same office, but he differs from them as to what that office is. The Presbyterians said that a New Testament bishop or presbyter was simply a minister of religion, who had a governing power only as a member of the presbyterial body. Dr. Hammond

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 Meaning of
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meaning is an overseer. Aristides uses it for and Justinian for the ruler of provinces and cities. Cicero translates it keeper or guard, Hammond says is fitly 'angel,' who in Scripture is eye, and commonly a guardian. In the Septuagint generally used to translate the Hebrew El, who God, lord, or angel, always bearing the idea of honor, dignity, power, and superiority. In every place in the New Testament where it is used, it is capable of this sense, and answers to our idea of a ruler or prefect in the church, and not a colleague or synod. A few of these places are examined. The opening of the Epistle to the Philippians begins with a salutation to the presbyters and deacons. This is one of the passages most often quoted in support of service to the Presbyterians. The Greek commentators even those who are asserters of Episcopacy, understand in this place bishop means presbyter, because there were not many bishops in one city. This is confirmed by the Fathers, who say that Epaphroditus, who was the bearer of this letter, was the bishop of the church at Philippi. Epiphanius affirms that the 'bishops' saluted in the Epistle were properly bishops as we understand that word. Hammond follows Epiphanius, and explains the passage on the theory of metropolitans. Philippi was the chief city of Macedonia. The 'bishops' may have been the presbyters under Epaphroditus, and the Epistle, though addressed to the saints at Philippi, may have been intended for the churches of Macedonia. Epiphanius explains that the deacons are mentioned next, because as yet the presbyters had not begun. Again, in the first Epistle to Timothy it is said 'a bishop must be blameless.' Hammond says there is no reason for doubting that here means a prefect or governor of the Church. The appearance of the contrary is the immediate subjoining of the deacons as in the Epistle to the Philippians, but the Fathers Clement and Epiphanius both testify that before the government of the Church was complete in all its

it now has with us, but this is rare and exceptional. In all languages the corresponding word means a ruler or governor. Wherever it is used in the New Testament, it must either of necessity be so understood, or it is at least capable of this meaning. The passage which the Presbyterians quoted was in the Epistle of James, where it is said, 'Is any sick? let him call for the elders of the Church.' It was objected that to visit the sick was not the proper work of a bishop. Hammond answered that it must have been in the primitive times, when there was only one bishop and one deacon in each church. Testimonies were added from Polycarp and Justin Martyr that this was the office of a bishop.

The third chapter of this treatise is devoted entirely to the testimony of antiquity, in confirmation of the view of Episcopacy which Hammond advocates. The sum of these testimonies is, that there were but two orders in the early Church, and the point in controversy is, what these two orders really were. The Epistles of St. Ignatius are decisive for Dr. Hammond's side, but in the judgment of the best critics, only a few of these Epistles are genuine; and those that are genuine are evidently so full of corruptions that no reliance can be placed on them. Hammond vindicates the Epistles, and even after criticism has done its best, he finds in the residue sufficient to establish his cause. For the other Fathers, Hammond begins with Irenæus. Eusebius testifies that he was Bishop of Lyons. He was not a presbyter in the modern sense of presbyter, yet he is called an 'elder' in the Epistle of the Martyrs of Lyons to Eleutherius, the Bishop of Rome. The Alexandrian Clement, speaking of St. John meeting the bishops of Asia, calls these bishops presbyters. Again, in his Epistle to Victor, Bishop of Rome, he speaks of Victor's predecessors as presbyters. To the same effect are many testimonies from the Fathers, the meaning of which is that a bishop, that is, one who had a governing power, was frequently called the presbyter or 'elder' of the Church.

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of the Baptist cause. Hammond replied in 'A
Infant Baptism.' On this subject, as well as on
there are things which were not noticed by the
fenders of infant baptism. He does not deny
of the arguments which had been adduced by o
for instance, as the example of circumcision, th
of households, and Jesus receiving little chil
while admitting that all these had some weight,
the foundation of the practice was more prop
the Jewish baptism, which was administered to
children, as well as to proselytes and their childr
usually supposed that the Jews only baptized pro
Hammond says they baptized all whom they re
the covenant, and the baptizing of Jews was th
their baptizing proselytes. The baptism or wash
whole body was a Jewish solemnity, by which
Jews were entered into the covenant of God
them by Moses. To prove this, Dr. Hammond o
the Talmud, the Gemara, and Maimonides. So
Fathers said that the heathen borrowed the cust
tizing from the Jews. Hammond admits this a
yet he thinks it probable that both Jews and C
rived it from the sons of Noah, with whom it wa
brance of the Deluge. The Greeks had a prover
that 'the sea sweeps away all the evils of men
St. Peter probably alludes when he makes baptis
type of Noah's flood. Athanasius, too, says,
baptism is that of the Deluge for the excision of
Optatus says, 'the Deluge was the image of ba
the polluted world, by the drowning of sinners,
cleansed into the ancient form.' The Fathers ge
the foundation of baptism in Moses, or the bap
Jews. Gregory Nazianzen says, 'Moses baptiz
water, and after this in the cloud and the Red
makes this a type of Christian baptism, adding, '
baptized, but not Judaically.' Athanasius speak
baptisms—that of the Flood for the cutting off of

Jesus gave to His disciples, 'Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them.' The teaching preceded the baptizing. From this the Baptists inferred that none were to be baptized but those who are first instructed. Hammond translates this text as 'Go ye and disciple all nations;' and he interpreted the meaning of it to be, that the Apostles were to make disciples of all nations by baptizing them, that is to say, the baptizing is another word for the same thing as the discipling. He illustrated this by what is said of baptism by St. Peter, that it is 'the answer of a good conscience.' The Greek word here translated 'answer,' Hammond translates 'seeking,' so that baptism is a 'seeking to God,' inquiring, as it were, at an oracle for instruction as to future life. Previous actual instruction was not necessary. Persons were to be made disciples by baptism, and then instruction was to follow. Parents take their children to school that they may learn. The children are made disciples by the act of their parents, and that on the very day they are brought to school. So children are brought to Christ in baptism, to begin their discipleship. That children were to be baptized, Dr. Hammond adduces St. Paul to the Corinthians, that 'the children are holy' if one or both of the parents are believers. The interpretation which the ancient Fathers put on this passage is reckoned to be certain evidence that it referred to baptizing children. Tertullian says, 'when either the father or mother is sanctified, the children are holy.' The context shows that by sanctified he means baptized. Athanasius argues for infant baptism from these two texts, 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' and 'now are your children holy,' explaining the last text as meaning 'the baptized children of believers.' Cyprian and the twenty-six bishops that were in council with him, in the letter to Fidus, speaking of the baptism of infants, give as the reason why they should be baptized that they are holy. This, Dr. Hammond says, is true of believers' children. All the Fathers speak of the faith of the parents as profit-

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neither are the Fathers, as he quotes them, who children of believers are holy because they are the of believers, or in virtue of their baptism. So he puts it one way, and sometimes the other, evidence including that it is the same thing. The children of believers as such are entitled to baptism, and therefore are called holy. Marshall clearly made the baptism of children depend on their being already in the covenant. Hammond distinctly says that by baptism they are admitted to the covenant. St. Paul calls the children holy because the parents are believers. Dr. Hammond says that children are made holy by baptism. This is, probably, but a different mode of saying the same thing. The holiness brought by baptism is explained as merely of a different kind. It is no actual regeneration, but simply an admission into the visible Church, and the gain of which the child is put in the way of instruction. It is, so to speak, being brought to school.

Regeneration
in baptism
only external.

Herbert
Thorndike.

There is but one other member of the Savoy Conference on the bishops' side, who was a voluminous writer, Herbert Thorndike. His works all concern the Church, and especially those questions which were agitated at that time. When the Presbyterians came into power, Thorndike wrote in defence of Episcopacy, adducing the usages and customs from what he supposed to be the primitive constitution of the Church. When the 'Directory' was adopted by Parliament, and an ordinance passed for the regulation of ministers by the presbyteries, Thorndike wrote a treatise on 'The Right of the Church in a Christian Commonwealth.' This was directed against the Presbyterians, but the chief point was the Erastianism which was connected with the Presbyterianism then established. The 'Directory' had been framed by the Assembly of Divines, but it was sent in parts to the Parliament, where the same had been confirmed, with such small variations as were deemed necessary. The 'Ordinance' also said that all the

their respective provinces was given power to suspend from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But any dissatisfied person might appeal to the presbytery, from thence to the provincial assembly, from thence to the national, and from thence to the *Parliament*. Robert Baillie, one of the Commissioners from the Kirk, wrote to Scotland, 'that the power of jurisdiction in all things we require, excepting appeals from the General Assembly to the Parliament, is not put in ordinances long ago, *it is by the cunning of the Independents and Erastians in the House of Commons.*' There was, Thorn- Erast
dike says, some tincture of Erastian doctrine, which dis- of the
solves all ecclesiastical power into the secular. He was to Parlia
bring forward reasons to establish what he had maintained in other books, that the society of the Church was to rest upon the power of the keys. He was to declare the persons to whom the power of the keys was given, the terms on which it was to be exercised, and the right or interest of the secular powers in establishing or reforming the Church of any State.

The Church is sometimes unconnected with the State. It was so before it was allowed and protected by the Roman Church
laws. Since that time there has been a State connection. State
the terms of which have never been well defined. Either the tion.
Church has interfered with the secular government, or the State has disturbed the government of the Church. Thorn-
dike starts with the principle that the Church has no tem-
poral power. It is a kingdom not of this world. It does
not use the sword. All secular power, on the other hand,
is finally a question of might. All secular disputes are re-
solved into the power of the sword. The Church's right
is to hold assemblies for divine worship. It has this right
previous to any grant from the powers of this world, and
against any interdict forbidding assemblies. The Church is
not in this respect a civil society. It is a society established
by God, and without Christian assemblies Christianity cannot
be professed. The first Christians obeyed the laws of the
State under which they lived, as far as they could, but never

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of the State to share in the government of the
 Thorndike refuses to argue from the precedent
 Jewish kings. There is a difference between the
 the Gospel. The law was confined to one people
 it was the condition on which God was to give
 Land of Promise. The Gospel is the new cov
 which God promises to all men everlasting life. T
 of England has always given kings that power in t
 which was possessed by Jewish kings. It serve
 end, for it preserved unity. But there was no pro
 for doing this merely in imitation of the Jewish k
 Christian Church being for all nations, was not
 necessity of following the old law. Moreover, i
 by any divine command that the kings of Judah
 vernors of the Church. The law commanded the
 have a king at all. But they wished to be like
 tions, and were allowed a king on sufferance. If t
 not allow them a king, it was impossible that
 could be the head of the Church. But though th
 express command, there is the fact that the kings
 had power in matters of religion. This arose
 and, indeed, necessarily. The Jews were comm
 destroy idolaters. This and some other comma
 addressed to them as a community. When they h
 over them, the common power of the people fell to
 In the same way, with the changes which require t
 for the difference of the cases, the civil ruler in
 tian country comes to have authority in the Chr
 is to maintain Christianity by the sword of his p
 only in subjection to the power which God has on
 His Church.

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Thorndike's
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Thorndike's doctrine of Church and State see
 precisely that of the Westminster Confession.
 pendency of the Church is to be preserved. The
 is to be nominally supreme, and his governme
 Church is to consist in putting into execution th
 of the governing body in the Church. This h

ing power independent of the civil ruler, maintained that excommunication was a secular punishment. Thorndike argues on the other side that it was a punishment inflicted by the Church officers. They had the power of admitting to the Church,—not simply the power of baptizing, but of determining who were the persons to be baptized. Now, a power to admit implies a power to refuse. But there is yet a stronger argument that excommunication was a spiritual penalty. It is derived from the practice of penance. In the early ages of the Church, according to the most ancient church writers, such sinners as apostates, murderers, and adulterers were wholly excluded from penance. Erastus tried to prove that there was no excommunication commanded by the law. Thorndike admitted this, but he added that the synagogue had the power of life and death, and this was equivalent to the power of excommunication in the Christian Church. And though excommunication was not commanded in the law, it was evidently practised, as we read in Ezra. The power of the keys was an expression borrowed from Jewish customs. Its meaning was that those to whom it was given were the stewards of the house. The society of the Church is founded upon the sword of excommunication, which it cannot forfeit to the civil ruler.

The Church is thus independent and self-governed. No secular person as such can have any ecclesiastical power in it. But there is a distinction to be made between ecclesiastical power and power in ecclesiastical matters. The first can belong only to those who are appointed to be officers of the Church by its original constitution. But that kings may have power in ecclesiastical matters is proved both from Scripture and from their duty, not merely as secular powers, but as Christians. Thorndike's proof from Scripture is something not very intelligible about the fulfilment of some Old Testament prophecy. The other argument is established by St. Augustine's interpretation of the words of the psalm, 'Understand now, O ye kings.' The

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CHAP. V. the subjects on which they are to legislate, but he last to discuss the great question, if the officers of the Church can excommunicate the sovereign. On the point of excommunicating Erastus this was impossible. Hooker in his later books especially refuted the Puritan doctrine that the Church can excommunicate the King. He admitted, however, that the Church could excommunicate, consisting simply of refusing admission to the Lord's Supper. Thorndike says there is but one excommunication, and the Church may excommunicate the sovereign.

The Conformist followed the Puritan in declaring the independence of the Church.

This theory of Church and State is, as we have said, that of the Presbyterians. The Conformist followed the Puritan in declaring the independence of the Church. This result was the necessary consequence of claiming that the Church had divinely appointed itself independent of the civil power. Thorndike's somewhat tedious works consist of the repetition of this doctrine in various forms, with occasional refusal to follow the Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians. He gives the first complete specimen of the old-fashioned High Churchman,—a species now almost extinct. He was to restore the Church of Rome by taking it back to the decrees and canons of the first six General Councils. When these Councils met there was a Catholic Church and a Catholic conscience. The meaning of Scripture, which, in some way incomprehensible to ordinary people, were to be the judges of what the Church should believe. He denied that the Roman Catholics are idolaters though they use idols in their worship. He makes a distinction between worshipping God by means of images and worshipping the images as gods. He professes to believe in transubstantiation, and he openly denies the doctrine of the real presence, as explained by the Reformers of the sixteenth century of England. They all said that the faithful eat and drink Christ's body and blood in the Supper, in the same manner as in all exercises of religion. Thorndike calls this 'the Calvinistic theory,' and conclusively asks, what necessity is there for the Supper at all, if the body and blood of Christ are not really present?

Among the Irish bishops at the restoration of King Charles, there were three of some eminence as theological writers. These were Bramhall, Hopkins, and Taylor. Though bishops of the Church in Ireland, they were all na-

a Puritan minister, and bore the Christian name of 'Accepted.' He seems to have been a worthy man.

Of Gauden, Richard Baxter says, 'Bishop Gauden was our most constant helper. He and Bishop Cosin seldom were absent, and how bitter soever his pen be, he was the only moderator of all the bishops (except our Bishop Reynolds). He showed no logic, nor meddled in any dispute or point of learning, but a calm, fluent, rhetorical tongue, and if all had been of his mind, we had been reconciled. But when, by many days' conference in the beginning, we had got some moderating concessions from him (and from Bishop Cosin, by his means), the rest came in the end, and broke them all.' Gauden wrote a folio of many pages, called 'The Tears of the Church of England.' It is a book of no value, being merely a long lamentation over the fallen estate of the Church, while Presbyterians and Independents—'plants which the right hand of the Lord had not planted'—were flourishing on its ruins. Gauden was what is now called a *good Churchman*, but Dr. Hook calls him 'this unprincipled man.' The ground of Dr. Hook's wrath is, that Gauden allowed it to be published that he was the author of 'Eikon Basilike,' which had been long ascribed to King Charles I.

Morley was the most noisy bishop at the Conference. Dr. Hook calls him 'a High Church Calvinist.' It was Morley who, when one at the court of King James asked what the Arminians held, answered, 'the best bishoprics and deaneries in the kingdom.' He had great influence at court, under both the first and the second Charles. It was due to Morley that Richard Baxter could not obtain the curacy of Kidderminster after he had refused the bishopric of

preaching of so much importance that he could not be silent? Morley and Sheldon had the practical management of the Savoy Conference, though Sheldon only came twice. Of Morley, Baxter says that he 'was oft there, but not constantly, and with free and fluent words, with much earnestness, was the chief speaker of all the bishops, and a great interrupter of us, vehemently going on with what he thought serviceable to his ends, and bearing down answers by the said fervour and interruptions.'

'Among all the bishops there was none who had so promising a face as Dr. Sterne, the Bishop of Carlisle. He looked so honestly, and gravely, and soberly, that I scarce thought such a face could have deceived me, and when I was entreating them not to cast out so many of their brethren through the nation which scrupled a ceremony which they confessed indifferent, he turned to the rest of the Reverend Bishops, and noted me for saying "in the nation." He will not say "in the kingdom," saith he, "lest he desire a king." This was all that I ever heard that worthy prelate say.'—*Reliq. Bax.*

'Dr. Gunning was their forwardest and greatest speaker, understanding well what belonged to a disputant, a man of greater study and industry than any of them, well read in Fathers and Councils, and of a ready tongue (and I hear, and believe, of a very temperate life, as to all carnal excesses whatsoever), but so vehement for his high, imposing principles, and so over-zealous for Arminianism, and formality and Church pomp, and so very eager and fervent in his discourse, that I conceive his prejudice and passion much perverted his judgment, and I am sure they made him lamentably overrun himself in his discourses.'—*Reliq.*

CHAP. V. tives of England. John Bramhall, formerly Bishop, and now promoted to the Archbishopric of Armagh, a zealous Churchman in the days of Laud. He had great applause for a disputation which he had conducted when as yet a young man, with a Jesuit in the Northallerton. Toby Matthews, the Bishop of Derry, made him his chaplain, and soon afterwards a Prebendary of York Cathedral. This put him on the high-road of ferment. When Viscount Wentworth was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he promoted Bramhall to the bishopric of Derry. The Protestant Church of Ireland had committed itself to a strict form of Calvinism, by incorporating in its articles the 'Articles of Lambeth.' It retained from the beginning of the Reformation a greater simplicity of worship and ritual than had been used in the Church of England. Bramhall entered on his work with a boundless energy. He was himself an anti-Calvinist, but he could dare to deny the Calvinism of the Church of Ireland. He had to plead for toleration. As soon as he was appealed to Convocation to adopt the Articles of Religion of England, which embraced both Calvinists and Arminians. He was assured that the difference was only in the words. This he did not deny, yet he felt that

Calvinism of
the Church of
Ireland.

and abundance of such ceremonies of Rome, which we have cast out. He answered, "Yea, and so I think, we ought to have more, and not fewer, if we do well."

Of the other members of the Conference Baxter says, 'Bishop Lucy, of St. David's, spoke once or twice a few words calmly, and so did Bishop Nicholson, of Gloucester. Bishop King, of Chichester, I never saw there; Bishop Warner, of Rochester, was there once or twice, but meddled not that I heard of; Bishop Reynolds spoke much the first day for bringing them to abatements and moderation, and afterwards he sat with them, and spoke now and then a word for moderation. He was a solid honest man, but, through mildness and excess of timorous reverence to great men, al-

of him from his first writings confirming that which his last writings had given up. Dr. Earle, Dr. Heylin, and Dr. Wick never came. Dr. Hall, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, said nothing to make us think of him. Dr. Sparrow, a little, but that little was enough for the imposing cause.'

Of the bishops who lived during the period of the Commonwealth, Juxon, Wren, and Pierce were the best known. Juxon was a good man, of whom little could be said either for good or evil. His promotions to the friendship of Charles II. and not to any merits of his own. Wren was the most rigid of the Puritans, and the most unpopular

XXXIX. Articles the Arminians might have a freedom CH
 which they could not have under the Articles of the Irish Bramb
 Church. He at last succeeded in passing his measure, under ceeds i
 pretence of manifesting the agreement of the Church of ting th
 Ireland with the Church of England. It was a clever de- Convoc
 vice. The Convocation was outwitted. It has ever since to adop
 been a question, if the subscribing to the Articles of the XXXI
 Church of England did not imply the repeal of the old ticles.
 Articles of the Church of Ireland. Bramhall's next work
 was to regain the lost revenues of the Irish Church. In
 this his success was so great that the property which he
 retrieved was the foundation of the greatest part of what is
 now the wealth of the Church in Ireland. In all these
 things Bramhall was helped by the Lord Lieutenant, encour-
 aged by Archbishop Laud, and protected by King Charles.
 Like most of the Churchmen who came within Laud's circle,
 Bramhall was active, zealous, a good man of business, as
 well as a scholar, and if not profound was yet dexterously
 clever.

Bramhall's works may be arranged under three heads :
 his controversies with Hobbes, his defences of the Church
 of England against the Church of Rome, and against the
 sectaries. The first we shall have occasion to speak of
 again, and the last are of no interest. We notice the
 second only to learn what was the argument which Church-
 men of Bramhall's day adopted against the Church of Rome.
 This series is divided into 'Discourses.' The second of
 these is called 'A Just Vindication of the Church of Eng- Defenc
 land.' The charge against the Church of England was the Ch
 schism. At first sight, Bramhall admits, there seems to be Englan
 some ground for the charge. We did withhold obedience
 from him who professes to be the Vicar of Christ. But
 schism is unjustly charged upon us. For the first six hun-
 dred years or more after we embraced Christianity, we had
 no foreign patriarch over us. The obtrusion upon us after
 that time of such foreign jurisdiction was a violation of the
 canons of the Catholic Church. The Bishops of Rome did

CHAP. V. Churches. The power which they gained in after
 — Bramhall says, mere tyranny and usurpation. The
 England, with their synods and parliaments, had
 right to limit and restrain the exercise of Papal
 Henry VIII., in resisting the Pope, was only t
 the steps of his most renowned ancestors. The
 Rome never had any quiet or settled possessio
 power which was finally cast out at the Reforma
 separated from the Pope because of his innovatio
 the Catholic Church we were never separated.
 threw back upon the Church of Rome the charge
 By novelties of doctrine and worship it had dep
 the Church Catholic.

What is
 schism ?

Before it could be determined that the Church
 was chargeable with schism, it was necessary
 schism. It cannot, Bramhall says, be such diss
 we read of between Paul and Barnabas, Jerome and
 Chrysostom and Epiphanius. We cannot suppos
 and Catholic Fathers to have been schismatics. J
 Ruffinus, indeed, call each other heretics. Chrys
 Epiphanius refused to worship together. C
 wished that Epiphanius might not return home
 Epiphanius wished that Chrysostom might not di
 The African Church was long in contention with
 Church about rebaptizing and appeals to Rome,
 Augustine, Cyprian, and the African bishops who
 side, did not live and die schismatics. Two pa
 separated from each other, and yet both may rema
 communion with the universal Church. The Roma
 argument was that, if Protestants separate thems
 the Church of Rome and yet acknowledge it to
 ber of the Church Catholic, they separate thems
 the Catholic Church. Bramhall's answer is, tha
 not separated from the Church of Rome, as it is
 of the Catholic Church. We have only separated
 to that in which it had first separated from
 Church: that is abuses and innovations. We ca

have caused the separation. St. Paul commands Timothy to 'separate' himself from those that 'consented not to wholesome words.' It is no schism to forsake those who have first themselves forsaken the common faith. When Eunomius, the Arian, was made a bishop, all his flock refused to communicate with him. To be of the Catholic Church it is not necessary that we be all in one communion, or united by an external unity. Schism is a culpable separation without sufficient grounds, or it is the causing of a separation by limiting the Catholic Church to a sect or party, as the Donatists did in old times, or as those of the Church of Rome are doing in the present day. CH

The Church of England was the same garden after the Reformation that it had been before it, with only this difference, that the weeds were taken out of it. The external separation from Rome was not made by Protestants, but by Roman Catholics. It was determined openly in both universities, 'That the Roman bishop had no greater jurisdiction within the kingdom of England conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture than any other foreign bishop.' This was received and established in full Parliament, by the free consent of all the orders in the kingdom. It had the sanction and approval of four-and-twenty bishops and nine-and-twenty abbots, all present in that Parliament. It was Roman Catholics who decreed that King Henry should be 'Head of the Church.' Even so late as the Council of Trent, Cardinal Pole wrote, 'The Emperor doth execute the office of Christ as a kingly head.' The many Acts which were passed in the reign of Henry VIII., declaring the independence of the Church of England, were passed by Roman Catholics when there were no thoughts of any Reformation. If it was this separation from Rome which constituted a schism, then the authors of it,—Heath and Bonner, Tonstall and Gardiner, Stokesley and Thirlby,—were the schismatics. The separation was made to our hands. It was not till Edward's days that the Church of England embraced the doctrines of the Schism
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The Reforma-
tion a vindi-
cation of our
ancient rights.

In maintaining our independence of Rome at the Reformation, we made no new laws, but only vindicated ancient liberties. Pope Boniface, after the year six hundred, assumed the title of universal bishop. His successors, degrees, extended their jurisdiction over other churches beyond the Roman see. The intrusion of the Papal authority into England was a usurpation. Unjust in its beginning, it could be justified by no subsequent custom or prescription. No Saxon, English, or British king ever made an acknowledgment of submission to the Bishop of Rome. On the contrary, when Augustine, the monk, came to England, he stayed in the Isle of Thanet, and did not preach in Kent till he had the King's licence. The first famous appellant from England to Rome before the Norman Conquest was Wilfrid, Archbishop of York. He gained sentence upon sentence in his favour at Rome. The King sent his nuncio to England to see the sentence put in execution; but Alfred told him that it was against reason to condemn a person twice condemned by the whole Council of England, could be restored upon the Pope's letter.' These were appeals to Rome, that we read of no other till the Norman Conquest. The next was that of Anselm in the reign of Henry I., when Pascal II. devised a new oath for the bishops. The oath touched this very question of appeal to Rome. The King pleaded the fundamental laws and customs of the land, that 'no Pope be appealed unto without the King's licence.' These laws, established by his father, William the Conqueror, were no other than those of Edward the Confessor—the old Saxon laws. Henry I. at the request of his barons, and Anselm took the oath. William of Malmesbury adds, 'In the execution of these things, all the bishops of England did deny their submission to their primate.' Legations from Rome were as usual appeals to the Pope. A law was passed that 'if any were found bringing in the Pope's letter or mandate, let him be apprehended, and let justice pass upon him without delay.' Henry VII. a traitor to the King and kingdom', Henry VII.

vicar of God in his own kingdom.' Bramhall concludes, as he had begun, with charging the guilt of separation on the Church of Rome, which had introduced innovations and claimed a universal jurisdiction over the Christian world. No such jurisdiction was given to the Church of Rome by Christ or His Apostles, and centuries had passed away before it was thought of by the Bishops of Rome. CH

Ezekiel Hopkins succeeded Bramhall in the bishopric of Derry. His works are practical, consisting mostly of sermons. They are what in the present day would be called evangelical. They are Calvinistic, though the doctrinal element is not prominent. Hopkins, speaking of the death of Christ, says that by it all men are put in a 'salvable' state. That all men are not saved, he reckons a conclusive argument that God did not intend to save all men. But it was His will that men should be put in a state of salvation. Everything is precisely as God wills it, that is to say, there is nothing contingent. There is only one other point of doctrine specially to be noticed in Hopkins's sermons. It is his explanation of Baptismal Regeneration. We have seen under Dr. Burges how Calvinists generally understood an actual regeneration to take place in the baptized if they were among the elect. Under Dr. Hammond we found regeneration in baptism interpreted as simply a relative or outward change. The use of the words was reckoned only an adaptation of old Jewish phraseology. Hopkins' explanation is much the same as that of Dr. Hammond. Infants are already members of the Church, disciples of Christ, and therefore they are to be baptized. All who are admitted into the visible Church 'are dignified with the title of saints. They are called children of God and members of Christ.' The regeneration in baptism is 'ecclesiastical.' Infants are incorporated into the Church of Christ by this sacrament. Bishop Hopkins, as well as Dr. Hammond, says that they are members of the Church and of Christ before baptism, but baptism is the public or formal declaration of their membership. Our services say that the On t
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CHAP. V. Church, which is the regenerate part of the world, baptism is absolutely necessary to eternal life, his grievous mistake in doctrine.'

Jeremy
Taylor.

Among all the Churchmen of the Restoration Taylor achieved a more lasting reputation than Jeremy Taylor. His fame doubtless rests chiefly on his sermons and devotional works, yet as a theologian he was great on many sides. He began his public life with unusual prospects, under the patronage of Laud, whose high sense of the gratitude of posterity was his readiness to seek out of ability, that he might raise them to positions where they were likely to be useful to the Church. Taylor's prospects were early clouded by the troubles which overtook the bishops. Throughout his life he maintained the high view of Episcopacy that were held by Laud and his successors, but with this exception, there is scarcely another point on which Taylor was a High Churchman. In fact, on but few doctrines on which Taylor's views would exclude him from the common pale of the orthodox judgment of the majority of Christians, of whatever party.

'Liberty of
Prophesying.'

The men who had carried persecution for religious opinions to its utmost bounds, were now in adversity, and of them learned wisdom, and pleaded for that which they had denied to those who differed from them in the time of their prosperity. This might be an illustration of the origin of Jeremy Taylor's 'Liberty of Prophesying,' but the principles laid down are so complete in their application that they embrace toleration for all sects and schisms. The argument, indeed, is directed against the Presbyterians, who were then in power, but it has even greater weight against such claims of exclusiveness as are made by the Church of Rome, and by the Church of England.

The Church of Rome proposes a visible guide to be followed in one all minds with all varieties of opinions, and this guide is to be, Taylor says is part of the first

varieties of principles, constitutions, educations, tempers, CH
 intents, and degrees of understanding, it is impossible that
 all men should be of one mind. From this follows the very
 rational conclusion that surely that which cannot be done is
 not necessary to be done. There is room in heaven for men There
 of different opinions. There may be unity of faith where in hea
 men's opinions are not the same. The first duty of all is men c
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 unity of charity. The distractions of Christendom proceed
 from forgetfulness of this first duty. Men put opinions
 before charity. They convert opinions into articles of faith,
 impose them upon other men, and thereby raise quarrels and
 factions. The Christian faith is summed up in the Apostles'
 Creed. Yea, it is even less than the articles of that
 Creed. It is expressed in this one sentence,—that Jesus
 is the Christ. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus is the
 Christ, is born of God. On this confession Christ built His
 Church. If this simple faith could bring men to heaven in
 the time of the Apostles, it is surely difficult to prove that
 more is needed now. The Church has no authority to en-
 large the Creed. Christ did not promise a spirit of infalli-
 bility. Whatever the Church may add as a superstructure,
 cannot be of the same necessity with the foundation.

Taylor says that we never read in the New Testament of
 persons condemned for their errors, except as these errors
 implied corrupt motives in holding them. In the early
 Church multitudes violently retained circumcision, and yet
 went to heaven. Their error was not heresy so long as it
 stood with charity. That which is merely an error of the
 understanding is not heresy. There must be also an error Heres
 of the will, as with those who taught circumcision for the error
 sake of gain: They may both believe their errors to be will, n
 true. Yet the difference is great between those who are in intel
 error through simplicity, and those who by a judicial
 punishment believe a lie. If a man's life is good, his error
 is not a heresy. No man can be a heretic against his will.
 In the early Church millenarianism was a Catholic doctrine.
 The further we go from the Apostles' times the more for-

CHAP. V. certain man or opinion, and so he was called a heretic.

the doctrine a heresy. Taylor cites the case of Nestorius of Antioch, who taught mortification of the flesh. Nestorius said he taught that the flesh should be as a filthy pollution. In St. Jerome's time it was beyond question that Nicholas was one of the vilest of men. The good man lived, no one ever thought of such notions. He had lived in holy wedlock, his sons were and his daughters virgins, but he had the misfortune to have a black mark in the catalogue of heretics. Virgilius was condemned for heresy, because he said there were three gods. In the same manner the friars of late suspected Gregory of Hebrew of heresy, and had almost put Terence and Lucian into the 'Index.' Epiphanius put Montanus in the catalogue of heretics, because he taught that food from certain meats as unclean. Aetius was regarded as heretic because he denied the necessity of praying for the dead; Eustathius, because he would not pray to the Virgin and the Ossenii, because they refused to worship the Virgin in the east. Taylor adds many more cases, as the Paresii, who interpreted the Scriptures for themselves, and following other men's judgments; the Pauliciani, who were offended at crosses; and the Proclians, who said that to generate men all sin was not dead but only under the curse. The name heretic he calls a *terriculamentum*, to frighten people from their belief. But the curse causeless shall not turn empty. No man is damned because his enemies pronounce anathema. They that judge are as likely to be in error as they that are accused. Every good man is obedient to God, whose belief is determined honestly, and he lives according to his light.

'Heretic' only a name to frighten people.

The development of opinions into heresies.

The process of the conversion of certain different opinions into heresies, Taylor discovers in the history of the Church. A party, which called themselves Catholics, put upon them to determine what was heresy and what was not. They did not do this at once. It grew upon them. We read of the Pelagian heresy, and violent as St.

what doctrines they considered true, but they only declared what was their belief, without imposing it upon others. They enlarged the Articles of the Apostles' Creed, and expressed a wish that all the world might rest satisfied with the Creed as they left it. The Council of Constantinople added, 'I believe in baptism for the remission of sins.' The Fathers of the Council of Ephesus passed an anathema against all who would add to the Creed of Constantinople. The Church of Rome added the *Filioque*, and since that all the world knows how much. In the Creed of St. Athanasius there is nothing but damnation and perishing everlastingly, unless every article of the Trinity is believed, as it is there curiously and minutely explained. Certainly it may only mean that heresy is damnable, though the persons holding it may go to heaven. Yet how different is their language from that of the Scriptures, where no opinions are condemned but those which lead to an evil life! Thomas Aquinas says that Athanasius only meant this Creed for a declaration of his own belief. Since his time the Church of Rome has prescribed it to others on pain of everlasting fire.

Those who set up the Bible for a rule, Taylor says, have as many reasons for being tolerant towards those who do not agree with them, as they have who take the Church for a living judge. When we look at the many senses and interpretations of which the Scriptures are 'capable,' we must conclude either that our differences are not faults at all, or, if they are faults, they are excusable. The mind which is prepared to assent to God's truth as soon as it is with certainty discovered, has an implicit faith in God, which is of as great excellency as an implicit faith in any man or company of men. No man, whatever his sincerity and industry, can be sure that he understands the true sense of the Scriptures. First of all, there are many thousands of copies with a great variety of readings. Jews and Christians mutually accuse each other of corrupting the writings of the Old Testament. But even if we had perfect copies, much

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CHAP. V.

Donatists' interpretations of Scripture.

either natural or figurative. The sense may be s and then it may be allegorical or anagogical. Al has shown how frequently there may be differen senses in one sentence. From the words in the Solomon, 'Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest a (*in meridie*), the Donatists proved that the Church in the south part of the world,—in Africa. For re ing heretics they had the agreement of almost Churches of Asia and Africa, of divers Councils martyrs, and confessors. Their arguments were dra such Scriptures as these: 'The oil of the sinner s break my head;*' 'He that washeth himself after th ing a dead body, if he touch it again, what avai washing?' 'Drink waters out of thine own cistern know that God heareth not sinners;' 'He that is r me is against me.' St. Augustine laughed at thes ments, but Taylor doubted if the other side had a ments as good. If the words, 'unless a man again,' are conclusive against the Anabaptists, why not 'unless ye eat,' be conclusive for bringing in the holy communion? Christ said to Peter, 'A lambs.' The Church of Rome understands 'feed' as 'command,' and, when desirable, 'put to death.'

We have no certain rule for interpreting the Sc Some refer us to the context; others say we should Scripture with Scripture. Some speak of the an reason, and others of the analogy of faith; and so all certainty in reading the originals. All these helps in themselves; yet they may all be made the finding in the Scriptures only what we wish to find

Traditional interpretations of Scripture worthless.

Some propose as the guide to Scripture interpreta traditions of the Church; but these again are all in uncertainty. Augustine says that those things the universal Church which have not been determ Councils, are to be believed as having descended f Apostles. The worth of this rule may be easily

Papias, a scholar of the Apostles, taught the doctrine of the millenarians. Justin Martyr says that millenarianism was the belief of all orthodox Christians. Yet what was the origin and what was the sum of this tradition? It was simply an error of Papias, a weak-headed man. If a doctrine so ancient and so generally received has no better foundation, what is to be said of some doctrine that two or three hundred years later was called by some Father, Catholic and Apostolic? The Nicene Fathers objected against the Arians a universal tradition of the three first centuries. Arius was willing to be tried by this alleged tradition; but, Taylor says, the orthodox would have failed, if they had not had arguments from Scripture better than their arguments from tradition. St. Augustine's rule was that we were to believe everything of which we did not know the beginning to be apostolic. The rule which we are now disposed to follow is the opposite of this,—not to receive any doctrine as apostolical unless we know that it had its beginning with the Apostles. The uncertainty of tradition in the earliest ages of the Church was manifest in the controversies concerning the time of keeping Easter. The Churches, both of the East and the West, alleged for their different customs a tradition from the Apostles. Clement of Alexandria said there was a secret tradition from the Apostles that Christ preached only one year. Irenæus, on the other hand, said that this was a tradition which came from heretics. He had it from St. John and other disciples that Christ was almost fifty years old when He died, and so he must have preached for nearly twenty years. When tried by the history of the Evangelists, both these traditions are wrong, for there the time of Christ's ministry is limited to three years. The Assumption of the blessed Virgin rests solely on the arguments and authority of St. Augustine. The baptizing of infants rests on the authority of Origen. The other Fathers, following Origen, call it a Catholic custom. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and the Son* pretends a tradition from the Apostles; but it was unheard of till the

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and things strangled, the cœnobitic life of secular the college of widows, standing during divine work the Lord's day, and giving milk and honey to the baptized. Again, there is the tradition, or rather junction, that a bishop should be the husband of the Church. The Church of Rome does not allow even one. Churches allow more than one.

If tradition leaves us in uncertainty, we are not helped by Councils and Fathers. We may, indeed, expect that, as the Spirit is promised to private assemblies so will it be given to such assemblies as the Council of the Church. But there is no promise of any infallible guidance. Before the days of St. Augustine, there was some appearance of unanimity among the Fathers. But the great reputation of the Bishop of Hippo made many opinions which were unheard of till his day. No Church Father before Augustine preached predestination, yet, through the influence of his name, predestination became a Catholic doctrine. But even if the Fathers did not contradict each other, what certainty have we that we really know what they taught? Their works have been corrupted by many names. Many books that were never written by them bear their names. Many of their books are lost, some of which are necessary to shed light on those that remain. They have been made to speak, not what they thought, but what other men thought. In their writings there is, however, some truth preserved; and we thank God that it is not clean gone as their great authority and reputation. Taylor cites some cases of the corruptions of the Fathers. In the fifth Decretal Epistle, ascribed to St. Clement, that is made to say that the Apostles had a community of goods because St. Luke says that they had all things in common. Justin Martyr, who lived before Origen, cites Origen with Irenæus for the baptizing of infants. And then, in the writings of Origen, they have been so interpolated by later writers, that it is impossible to say what is his and what

Influence of Augustine made doctrines 'Catholic.'

was meant to make us more just and more merciful, and it is a sufficient reason for the rejection of any doctrine if it does not serve that object. We may then conclude that it is not sound. All sects were to be tolerated, even the Anabaptists, so long as their doctrines were not injurious to the well-being of the State. If it were a mere matter of religious opinion, unlimited toleration might be extended to Roman Catholics. It is difficult to acquit them of the charge of idolatry, and this, Taylor says, no government can tolerate while it regards the well-being of the community. Many reasons are given why Christians should be forbearing and charitable towards those who differ from them. It is recommended that members of churches that have different doctrines should communicate with each other. God is not angry with men because they are in error when they have done their best to find out the truth. And if for this God is not angry with men, why should they be angry with each other?

Bishop Taylor is generally called a semi-Pelagian. All men who are familiar with theological writings know that names of this kind mean very little. We know nothing of the doctrines of Pelagius but from his opponent, St. Augustine, whose authority in matters of heresy is of the smallest imaginable value. Taylor denied that he was in any way a Pelagian. It is, certain, however, that on grace, good works, original sin, and some kindred subjects, he was very far from agreeing either with Augustine or Calvin. We should certainly decline the task of attempting to reconcile the doctrines of Jeremy Taylor with those of the Articles of the Church of England. In a treatise on the 'Doctrine and Practice of Repentance,' he says that under the new law it is possible to keep the commandments of God. Some African bishops said that there were Christians who from the day of their conversion to the day of their death, lived without sin. Augustine did not think this a great error, because these bishops said it was done solely by the grace of God. The Pelagians, on the other hand, according to

CHAP. V. does not require of us what we cannot perform. — under the Gospel is summed up in loving God with soul. This Taylor explains to be loving Him as we can love Him, which, by the very terms in which expressed, is possible for us. From this explanation evident that he did not mean keeping the Command of God perfectly. He says that this we cannot do, of our weakness and our temptations. But after done our best there is an allowance made for our in Christ has died for us, and therefore God will not to our charge. Since the Redeemer was promised since the fall of Adam, the covenant of exact obedience never been the rule of life and death. The regeneration is perfection, though it be imperfect in its degree. The old law was a schoolmaster, to bring the synagogues to Christ, and not, as most theologians understand the law, to bring us to Christ. We are done with the law. We are under grace. The Apostle's argument that the old law is addressed to Jews only. In the experience of a Christian there is no such stage as being under the law. Some people suppose the law to have been a law of terror, while the Gospel is nothing but grace. Taylor says there was grace under the law, and to the imagination there are terrors under the Gospel more fearful than there were under the law. But the Gospel is a law of more mercy. It is also a covenant of more mercy. Good works are as necessary now as they ever were. The only antithesis between the old law and the new is that the one is better than the other. They are not opposed to each other. Faith is not placed in opposition to works. Both are necessary to salvation. The law is much of the same nature that the one cannot be separated from the other. From the necessity of works Taylor inferred the invalidity of death-bed repentance. He admits, may save a man who does not repent till he is that he is dying. But this is not the ordinary rule of divine dealing. Repentance is not enough. Man

The law and the Gospel.

Works necessary as well as faith.

teaching that men are saved by works under the covenant of grace, as well as under the first covenant with Adam, nor to his doubting the possibility of salvation without a miracle to a death-bed penitent. He denied what by some theologians is reckoned the first doctrine of the Gospel,—the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity. St. Paul says, that death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. Taylor explains this, that Adam first sinned. All his sons and daughters sinned after him, and so all have died, not because of Adam's sin, but because of their own sins. We are not made sinners in Adam. We did not die in Adam. For our own sins we suffer that death which passed on him for his sin. There are many passages in Scripture which seem to declare the opposite of what Taylor here teaches. It was necessary for him to explain these. The meaning he puts upon them is, that but for Adam's disobedience men would not have been punished so severely for their own sins. The consequence of Adam's disobedience is upon them. They are accounted sinners in the sense of having to bear the penalty of that sin. Their disobedience was not like his, not so great as his. They had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression. His sin brought infirmity on all men. In this sense Christ as one of the sons of Adam was a sinner. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says that *He offered first for His own sins*. Adam lost paradise and the tree of life. He was driven out into a less favourable region. In this region his children were born. When Anthony seized upon the lands of Cicero, his son was a loser, but he only lost what he never had. So was it with the children of Adam. They lost what they never had, but they were not by Adam's transgression made heirs of damnation, nor did they become naturally and necessarily vicious. An act committed thousands of years before we were born could not have been our act, nor could it, in any kind of justice, be imputed to us. It was not our choice that we were born at all, much less that we should be born guilty of Adam's sin, of which we

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Passages supposed to teach original sin explained.

sition that God would condemn any man to never punishment for the sin of another. He dealt more equally with the angels who kept not their first estate. They were to stand or fall by their own doings. We are by nature miserable and imperfect, but not criminal. There are passages of Scripture continually quoted in evidence of the doctrine of original sin. David said, 'In sin did my mother conceive me.' Bishop Taylor adds, that David has said this more truly of the conception of the son of Bathsheba. St. Paul says that we are by nature children of wrath. Bishop Taylor says 'by nature,' 'by birth.' This was the actual condition of those to whom Paul referred, before their conversion. It is said that God threatens to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children. Bishop Taylor explains this, that God once tried the world of dealing with men, but it was afterwards changed to another, which was, 'the soul that sinneth, it shall die.'

Art. IX. explained.

The doctrine of original sin, usually ascribed to the Pelagians, is that it consists in our sinning as Adam sinned, not in our being affected by what he did. This is not Taylor's doctrine. He does admit that men are weak and takers of infirmity because of Adam's guilt. He seeks to harmonize his doctrine with the ninth of the Thirty-Nine Articles. It is there said that original sin is 'the fault and corruption of the nature of every man.' It is not sin that is imputed, but only that we are born imperfect. That ere we can reign with God we must be renewed. 'Corruption,' Taylor says, is exegetical of 'fault,' and infirmity is connected with the body, the meaning of which is manifest. The body is subject to death. It is therefore said to be sown in corruption. This 'fault' or 'corruption' is predicated 'of the nature of every man,' which, according to Bishop Taylor, that 'it does not mean that we are all sinners, for sin is not an affection of the whole nature of all persons.' There is in the Article a limitation by the words 'every man that is naturally engendered of the offspring of Adam.' This is generally taken for a limitation upon

common to all men. Without these He could not have been under the law. The Article says that we are 'very far gone from original righteousness,' which means that we are born in the greatest imperfection,—born under a law which we break before we have understanding. It is said also that man 'of his own nature is inclined to evil,' which is true of all men, but of some men more than others. It is an effect or condition of nature, but not properly sin. The Article goes on to affirm that 'the flesh lusteth contrary to the spirit,' which is taken as conclusive that concupiscence is the only effect of Adam's sin. This 'infection' is an imperfection, an inclination to what is forbidden. Other Protestant Confessions say that it is sin. The Council of Trent says it is not sin. This Article simply says it has 'the nature of sin.' It is not sin to those who do not consent, but it is the root whence sin may spring. The regenerate man is born into liberty. He has the victory over sin. The Gospel gives him power to conquer it. This is the excellency of the Gospel. In this it surpasses all other covenants and institutions.

Jeremy Taylor's arguments for Episcopacy are not so original as those against the imputation of Adam's sin, but they are more orthodox. The tract on this subject is called 'Episcopacy Asserted.' In the overthrow of the bishops by the Presbyterians, he saw the prelude to the great apostasy of the latter day. There must, said the Apostle, be a falling away first; and was not this falling away from the government that had been in the Church for sixteen centuries the greatest and most significant sign of Antichrist that had yet appeared? The argument which never was omitted by Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent, was the corner-stone of Taylor's fabric. Has not God prescribed a government for His Church? To sit down in the calm spirit of philosophers, and examine whether or not there is such a government prescribed, was too humble a proceeding for the theologians of the seventeenth century. It was assumed to be abundantly manifest, previous to all exami-

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CHAP. V. private duties. It cannot, therefore, be supposed

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private duties. It cannot, therefore, be supposed should not prescribe public duties. The ark of God should not be left to human prudence. After being ascertained that Episcopacy must be in the Bible as the law were that the Geneva discipline was in the Bible, he brings forth his strong arguments. Christ delegated the Apostles power which they were to delegate to their successors. The ordinary offices of the Apostles were to cease and the extraordinary to cease. Priests and deacons, in a limited sense, are the successors of the Apostles. Bishops are their full successors, truly and properly. The office of Judas was called a bishopric. St. James, at Jerusalem, though not of the twelve, was called an Apostle. St. Augustine testifies that, though Peter was first of the Apostles, yet in James's diocese he was of pre-eminence. Epaphroditus was the Apostle of the Romans, which is explained by Theodoret to mean that he was one of those Apostles who received their apostleship indirectly from Christ were called Apostles of Christ. The others were called Apostles of the Churches. But all of them were bishops. Christ Himself first made the distinction between bishops and presbyters, when He sent forth the Apostles and the seventy disciples. Epiphanius says that the seven deacons were chosen from the seventy presbyters. In the Church of Antioch, the prophets laid their hands on Paul and Barnabas. These prophets were more than ordinary presbyters. Mark was of the Church of Alexandria only as a minister of the Apostles. He had no power of laying on of hands. Confirmation was performed by the Apostles. This disparity of ministers in the Church was sanctioned by the Holy Ghost in the Epistles to the seven Churches in Asia. All antiquity bears witness to the apostolic succession of bishops. It calls them the successors of St. Peter. Cyprian says that the Church is founded on the bishops as the successors of the Apostles. St. Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus, St. Titus of Crete, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Clement of Rome, &c.

he wore on his forehead a *πέταλον*, a gold plate or medal, as a sign of his apostleship. One bishop could make a priest or a deacon, but a bishop must be ordained by two, or at least three, other bishops.

In 'A Discourse of Confirmation,' Taylor took a view of that rite which has been but rarely, if ever, advanced in the Church of England. He not only made it the complement of baptism, but he made it of more importance than baptism. Following the mystical St. Dionysius, he called it 'the perfection of the divine birth.' Until we are confirmed, we are but babes in Christ, in the meanest sense infants that cannot speak. By confirmation we become in reality the children of God. When the bishop blesses the baptized Christians, then a guardian angel is appointed over each one, to shield them from the assaults of the spirits of darkness. Taylor says that the Jesuits in England made confirmation of little importance, because they had then no bishops to confirm. It is not, indeed, a sacrament, as baptism and the Lord's Supper are sacraments; yet we are nevertheless bound to receive it. Repentance is not a sacrament, and yet repentance is a duty. Christ was confirmed immediately after He was baptized. John's baptism did not give the Holy Ghost. The effect of baptism is the washing away of sin; the effect of confirmation is the gift of the Holy Ghost. Confirmation sanctifies the soul, and represses the carnal desires. He that is only baptized, receives not the Holy Ghost. He that has not the Spirit of God is none of His. St. Clement and St. Cyprian understand 'water and the Holy Ghost' to mean *water and fire*. We must pass through fire and water; that is, baptism and confirmation. In baptism we make vows. In confirmation we get strength to keep them. Taylor leaves no doubt about his meaning, when he connects grace and the gift of the Holy Ghost with the rites of baptism and confirmation. All that is needed to make them valid is that they be performed by the regular ministers, who are the appointed channels of grace. The sacerdotalism so abundant in his later writings was almost

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CHAP. V. unbaptized. Now he makes baptism necessary to the only exception being when it cannot be had. It comes to the Church through the bishops and priests, conferred by the simple performance of the regular service of the Church. This is confirmed, as all profound quakers and theologians generally were, by the great authority of St. Augustine. That saint testifies that he knew men who were resolved to marry and lead secular lives, but, being persecuted with violence and carried against their will to the bishops and ordained priests, they received the gift of continence by the very act of ordination.

On 'The Real Presence.'

In a treatise on 'The Real Presence' in the sixteenth century Bishop Taylor returns to more rational theology. The old dread of transubstantiation, inherited from the medieval reformers, still existed even in the minds of the advanced High Churchmen. The writers who had formerly loudly advocated priests, altars, and sacrifices, always maintained a great difference between these things as they understood them, and as they were understood in the Church of Rome. Any doctrine of the 'real presence' in any way kindred to transubstantiation, was rejected among Laud's Churchmen. Taylor begins his treatise by quoting Erasmus, who says that 'it was late in the sixteenth century the Church defined transubstantiation; for a long time before it did suffice to believe that the true body of Christ was present, whether under the consecrated bread, or under the wine.' To the same effect Durandus, 'We hear that when we perceive the motion, we know not the manner of the motion, we believe the presence.' Taylor thinks that Erasmus and Durandus would have agreed with him that the presence of Christ is real and spiritual. The word 'spiritual,' in this sense, is particular in nothing but that it excludes the material and natural. A spiritual presence means a presence by its effect and blessing. It is in reality not a formal presence, but a presence by His Spirit. The bread and wine are not the body and blood of Christ. They are not changed into the body and blood, but they are made to represent the body and blood of Christ.

this sense Christ is present *substantialiter*. The Council of Trent says that Christ is sacramentally present to us *in His own substance*. Here is at least an agreement in words between Protestants and the Church of Rome. Taylor thinks this might be the basis of an entire agreement between them both, if by the same words they meant the same thing. St. Bernard and Bellarmine are quoted as saying that Christ's body is not there corporally, but truly and substantially, that is, spiritually. But Taylor finds that Bellarmine does not understand by 'spiritually' what Protestants understand by that word. He means that the body is present not as a body, but as a spirit,—with the nature of a body naturally, and yet with that manner of being by which a spirit is distinguished from a body. This Taylor calls 'cozening the world,' for it is 'a direct folly and contradiction.' 'We,' he adds, 'by the real spiritual presence of Christ do understand Christ to be present, as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace, and this is all that we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence.' We may say that Christ's body is present, meaning that a 'corporal sign' of that body is present. Taylor rejects John vi. as having any reference to the Lord's Supper, and he quotes Eusebius as interpreting the *flesh and blood* in that chapter as the words which Christ spake, and not of any eating of His body in the Eucharist.

The doctrine of Jeremy Taylor on original sin did not meet the approbation of the orthodox theologians of his day. To Dr. Sanderson it was a matter of great grief. To the Presbyterians a greater heresy could scarcely have been propounded. Two of their ministers undertook to refute it. John Gaule, 'Preacher of the Word at Great Staughton in Huntingdonshire,'* and Henry Jeanes, 'Minister of God's

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* Gaule's book is very scarce. It is not in the British Museum nor in any London library to which the writer of this has access. There is a copy in the Bodleian, according to the catalogue. Bishop Heber, in his *Life of Taylor*, speaks of it as

Vicar of Great Staughton in the time of Cromwell, and an ardent Presbyterian, but he conformed at the Restoration, and recommended conformity to others. From the connection of Cromwell's family with the parish of

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Word at Chedzoy.' These were not great men both had some reputation in their day as authors and preachers. Henry Jeanes was one of the two ejected by the Act of Uniformity. Wood gives character of 'a most excellent philosopher,' and metaphysician.' He wrote against Taylor a treatise on Original Righteousness and its Contrary Consequences.

Astrological-Diviner posed and puzzled.' This was a book against astrology. In the dedication Gaule speaks of having received from Cromwell 'super-abounding favours for these sundry years past.' Gaule's fame rested chiefly on the part which he took in the great question of witchcraft. There was a witch-committee appointed by Government to hunt up all the witches in the country. The small towns and villages of the eastern counties were specially searched, being supposed to abound with these servants of the great enemy. Gaule said that there were no witches in his parish, and he protested in the pulpit against the government officers coming among his parishioners on that business. Matthew Hopkins, the witch commissioner, wrote to him from London that he was coming in a few days to Kimbolton, and he intended to begin his search at Great Staughton. He told Gaule that many ministers preached against the discovery of witches, saying that there were none in their parishes, but they were soon forced to recant. The commissioner had ways of finding out witches unknown to the ministers. This was the occasion of Gaule's writing a book called 'Select Cases of Conscience, touching Witches and Witchcraft.' It bears the date of 1646. It was dedicated 'To his ever honoured Valentine Wauton, Esquire, Colonel, and one of the Honourable House of Commons. As also to the other worthy Gentlemen, together with all the good people of the Parish of Great Staughton in the County of Huntingdonshire.' It is a scientific treatise on the science of witchcraft.

There is no God. The learned discourse of the kinds of witches,—the observer of seasons, the enchanter, the poison-witch, the charmer, the liar (this kind of witch as one that carries the bottle, bag, or pitcher), the witch, the necromancer, the learned divisions. He only spoke of white and black or good and bad witches, the witch and the pacted witch, the witch and the passive witch. He said that the good witch would be feared than the bad one, being most dangerous when as an angel of light. When made, they are not bound. The causes of witchcraft, the form, are God, the devil, the efficient causes, the moving causes, with the devil, the formal covenant is sometimes the most frequently implicated signs or tests of witches, eyes, not weeping, ill-favoured and mumbling, burning the witch, burning the witch's house, heating of shoe, scalding water, casting into water with her thumb tied across. But these signs are probable. The probable and long suspicion, suspects, bare confession, a coming upon the witch's touch, bloody marks, cursing and lewd and naughty life, decapitation, haunting the house, witches, or keeping company with them, being impeached, witches, forsaking public

It is divided into two heads. These are, if there be such a thing as original righteousness, and what it is. Taylor and the Socinians, Jeanes says, deny the first. They explain original righteousness as simply being innocent of actual sin. Jeanes brings forward Scripture to prove that it was something positive. The proofs are, that man was made in God's image, which is righteousness and holiness ; that God, after the creation, pronounced everything very good—this, applied to man, must be moral goodness. God made man upright, and St. Paul speaks of putting on the new man which is created after the image of God. These passages, Jeanes says, speak of an actual righteousness, and not a mere freedom from actual sin. Taylor had spoken of Adam's knowledge as limited. This was a secondary point, but connected with the main question. Jeanes could not say that Adam was omniscient, but he maintained that being made in the image of God, this image was a likeness in understanding. Knowledge in Scripture generally means practical knowledge. It is not merely agnition but cognition,—knowledge with an acknowledgment. It could not be inferior to that knowledge which is in the new man, for it is in this that man is said to be renewed. In the Epistle to the Colossians knowledge is put for the whole new man, by the figure synecdoche. Scripture ascribes to Adam actions which imply a high degree of knowledge, as his naming all the beasts of the field, and exercising dominion over them.

What the original righteousness was, is the next question. It is called original for several reasons. It was the first righteousness in the world. It was seated in our first parents. They had it as soon as they were created. Jeanes considers it after the Puritan fashion of divisions and subdivisions, till the subject seems to evaporate among the terms and distinctions. He tells us what it is materially, formally, subjectively, causatively, and in its effects. It is under the last head that we get the idea of something definite. It was a subordination of the body to the soul, of the lower

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CHAP. V. tioned is sin. It is the law in the members w
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After this treatise follows a series of letters that
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 tion. A passage out of one of Taylor's books wa
 He said 'that every man is inclined to evil, some
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 The meaning of some of the words here used we
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 Taylor's position to this premise, 'Sin properly
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This controversy began with letters between Taylor and Jeanes through a mutual friend. It ended with their upbraiding each other mutually for want of discernment; Jeanes telling Taylor that he could not express himself properly, and Taylor recommending Jeanes to find some more profitable way of employing his ingenuity than by cavilling at other people's books.

Hallam calls Jeremy Taylor's 'Liberty of Prophesying,' the first famous plea in this country for toleration in religion. It was not the first plea, but it was the first treatise on the subject that had any special interest. The principles had been advocated by John Goodwin, Leonard Busher, John Baptist, and one or two other obscure or anonymous writers. Some have traced them to John Smyth, of Amsterdam, who was probably their first English advocate. The plea for liberty of conscience has always come most ardently from those to whom it was denied. Men begged to be tolerated long before they learned to tolerate. The most zealous advocate of liberty of conscience in the seventeenth century was Lodowick Muggleton. The 'prophet' could not understand why the Lord Protector suffered him to be so often put in the stocks and pelted by the populace. The 'Liberty of Prophesying' was written when Taylor's party were in adversity. The Presbyterians were in power. It was their turn to assert the right of the State to punish heretics. It was for those who were not tolerated to plead for toleration.

Samuel Rutherford, one of the leaders of the Presbyterians in Scotland, wrote, in answer to Taylor, 'A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience.' Rutherford was Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrew's, and one of the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland to the 'Assembly of Divines.' Jeremy Taylor, the friend of Archbishop Laud, pleads for toleration to all sects and sectaries. One of the leaders of the Church of Scotland answers that ecclesiastical authorities have a divine commission to punish heretics, even with death. This strange phenomenon is not fully explained by the mere cir-

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clares in the very first page of his book, that to give of conscience is to suppose conscience to be a man. It is to give it a royal prerogative, and to make it of what we believe and of what we do. It is to put conscience in the place of God and the Bible. In other words it is to deny infallibility and certainty as to what God believes. How could Samuel Rutherford, as a minister of the Gospel, rebuke those who differed from him, if there was no guide for men but conscience? He will not deny that the saints have errors, and that there is need for instruction and forbearance, but there must be 'a taking of the weeds which destroy the vines.'

The Bible and
the Church
must overrule
the conscience.

Rutherford begins with a consideration of conscience, what it is, and what are its functions. It is a servant, to be guided and directed by the word of God, or by what God reveals to us. This supposes an infallible certainty, an independent of the conscience, of what God says to us in the Bible. We might suppose that Rutherford had simply transferred the Bible to that place which is supplied in the Roman Catholic system by the supposition of an infallible Church. But this would be a mistake. Rutherford, like all the Presbyterians, believed in a divinely appointed Church. Consistently with this, he believed that God speaks through that Church. So that the Church, speaking in its assemblies, is to be the ruler and guide of conscience. He does not say in so many words that the Church is infallible, but when he explains why we should submit to the decisions of a synod, it is on the supposition that they are in accordance with the Scriptures. Christ has said, 'He that heareth me.' The Dutch Arminians had objected to the reliance on the decisions of synods. They asked how the Church could determine anything with certainty. Everything it determines, it may err, and is therefore fallible. Rutherford answered that the Scripture had determined the principles of the controversies. There was nothing in the Bible uncertain or controversial, except in regard of our dullness and blindness. The Church, though fallible, may determine

Church and its pastors. Rutherford, like Laud, Montagu, and the High Churchmen of the Church of England, denied that because the Church was fallible, it was therefore to be inferred that it could not determine anything infallibly. The ministers of the Church have an official, authoritative judgment, in virtue of which they are 'to command, rebuke, and exhort.' The people are 'to obey those that are over them.' It is said of the ministers of the Gospel, not of the people, 'He that heareth you heareth me.' The officers of the Church declare the mind of Christ, as the judges, in interpreting the law, declare the mind and will of the king. The Arminians said that if anything was already determined in the Scriptures, there was no need for a synod to determine it. The answer is, that without the ministerial determination of the synod, people are left to interpret Scripture by their own private judgment; so that not the Scripture but their private interpretation of Scripture is their guide.

The Church, then, declares truth. It has a ministerial power. It is the duty of the ministers of the Church to instruct the civil magistrate in his duty. The Church cannot use the sword against heresy, but it can complain of heretics to the civil magistrate. It can give them over to him who has the power of the sword. The objection was raised that the civil magistrate has to do with manners, and not with religious opinions,—with what men do, and not with what they teach. Rutherford answers that heretics do fail against manners. His argument is not clear, but it seems to be that as heretics are murderers of souls, it is the duty of the magistrate not to suffer them to escape. And if the magistrate is remiss in his duty, the ministers or synods ought to admonish him that he must coerce with the sword seditious wolves and *Jezebels*. It is granted, indeed, that no external compulsion can change men's beliefs. The sword of the magistrate should not, therefore, be used positively to compel men to adopt externally a worship of which they do not approve. The magistrate is only to use his power negatively by punishing acts of false worship, in so far as these acts

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CHAP. V. not, however, do this as a service to God, but only as worship, or as the omission of true worship, may be to men as individuals, or destructive to the community over which he presides. John Goodwin said that the magistrate cannot in justice punish errors of the mind which are unavoidable. They depend on conviction, not on the will. Rutherford answers that this might as well be objected against the Mosaic command that a seducer who tempted the people to worship false gods, was to be put to death. The magistrate has to protect the people whom he governs; and as to the injustice from the prevalence of heresies or mental errors do not depend on the free will, Rutherford says that the same might be said for adultery and murder.

Mental blindness to be punished.

John Goodwin argued for a universal toleration, on the difficulty of arriving at truth. That required some measure of reason and understanding,—often, indeed, a supernatural illumination of the Holy Spirit. It had been proposed to extend toleration to all who held fundamentals, and to freedom in things that were not fundamental. But Rutherford showed that the difficulty of arriving at certainty was less in the one case than in the other, and that the errors were to be pitied rather than punished. The doctrine thus ceased to be of any service in the question of toleration. Rutherford asks if the false prophet mentioned in Deuteronomy, or Elymas the sorcerer, were to be pitied, rather than punished for their errors. The blindness, which Goodwin said was excusable, was not by command of God. Goodwin's principle was grounded on the Arminian doctrine that God could punish men according to the measure of light that he gave them. In Rutherford's judgment, this was not the divine justice at the bar of human reason. He said, the old plea of the Donatists, who argued from the lack of free-will to liberty of conscience, and who unquestionably would have opposed the decrees of Nebuchadnezzar and Artaxerxes. Rutherford preferred following the

indifferent, such as opinions and practices about meats and drinks, or different expositions of the same text. But the point at which toleration is to cease, is when the difference makes a schism. St. Paul could not endure the divisions at Corinth. Christ was not divided. There were not two Churches, but only one. Christians are to strive to walk by the same rule, and not to divide themselves into sects, every one following his own private judgment. Heresy is not a mere innocent error of the mind. St. Paul classes it with the works of the flesh, making it one of the greatest of sins.

After explaining what is to be the rule of our belief, Rutherford brings forward many arguments against toleration. It is without authority either in the Old or the New Testament. It implies a sceptical spirit as to the certainty of what is revealed. There is but one way. It is the old way, the 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism.' God has not left it to men to serve Him as conscience dictates. He has given laws how He is to be served. It was in the days when there was no King in Israel, that Micah consecrated one of his sons, and made him his priest. The magistrate is to take care that such as Micah do not serve God according to their erroneous conscience. If he neglect his duty, the people will soon multiply groves and 'altars, according to the number of their cities.' The Arminians said that under the Old Testament the prophets were infallible, but no such infallibility belongs to the ministers or magistrates under the Gospel. Rutherford answered that we must have a 'full persuasion,' and though the Church be fallible, we are not to be carried about with every wind of doctrine. Toleration of heresy destroys our hope and comfort in the Scriptures. It takes away from the ministers of the word authority to rebuke and silence gainsayers. It takes away from magistrates the authority expressly given to them in the Fourth Commandment, and, as it has been already shown, it is contrary to all the laws of the Old Testament for restraining teachers of lies. Rutherford adds

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quiet and peaceful lives.' Moreover we read in the Bible that the 'ten kings' as kings punished the woman, and burnt her with fire. The old emperor's laws against heretics. Jeremy Taylor had quoted from the Fathers passages advocating toleration. But he said that all sorts of Christians dissent from the teaching of some of the most celebrated Fathers. Therefore, Rutherford, they are not authorities for liberty of conscience.

The meaning
of Scripture
not uncertain.

Bishop Taylor's plea for toleration, strange as it may appear when coming from a High Churchman, really was the same as Goodwin's,—the uncertainty of the meaning of what that is revealed in the Scriptures. He pointed to the different readings, the different punctuations, the many different ways in which a passage might be understood, the meaning depending on a letter or an accent. Rutherford said that from the providence of God, which must have been over His word so as to deliver it clear and infallible to the Church. Translators, copyists, or printers might have made errors, but God could not suffer their errors to affect the infallibility of what is revealed.

Leonard
Bushier's
'Plea for
Liberty of
Conscience.'

The 'Liberty of Conscience literature,' before the publication of Jeremy Taylor's book, consisted chiefly of tracts and pamphlets.* The oldest of them was Leonard Bushier already mentioned. It was written in 1643 and presented to King James and the Parliament. Bushier does not seem to have been a preacher. He is simply 'a citizen of London.' His principles apparently were Presbyterian. The tract was republished in 1646, with an epistle prefixed by a Presbyterian, addressed 'To the Presbyterian Reader.' The epistle was an exhortation to the Presbyterians now in power to practise that toleration which Bushier had begged from the King and the Parliament. The arguments of the tract were solid. Bushier told that true religion was not inherited by birth, and that it could not be propagated by fire or sword. The law compelled all subjects to be of the same religion as the king, but the law of God required that all should be Christians.

rests on the command to 'go and teach all nations.' Its Apostles were not to compel, but to persuade men. Christ came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. Kings must receive their faith in the same way as subjects receive theirs; that is, not as kings, but as men. Christ's kingdom is not of this world. It is not defended by the sword, but by the word and Spirit of God. Christ said, 'He that will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican.' He did not say, 'Let him be burned, banished, or imprisoned.' Christians may be persecuted, but they should never be persecutors. Abel did not kill Cain; Isaac and Jacob did not persecute Ishmael and Esau. We are the children of the patriarchs who suffered, not of those by whom they were oppressed. Believers do not live for the destruction of unbelievers, but for their conversion, edification, and salvation. It is the duty of kings and magistrates to attend upon temporal affairs, and of bishops and ministers to attend upon spiritual. They are not to interfere with each other's authority, office, or function. Constantine understood this when he wrote to the Bishop of Rome that he would force no man to receive the Christian faith.

To this address Busher added 'Certain Reasons against Persecution.' He did not find that Christ had commanded any king, bishop, or minister to persecute people because of differences in religion. He rather found the liberty of the gospel to consist in being free to receive or reject, according as a man was persuaded in his own mind. To force all men to one religion is to fill the Church with dissemblers, to make it a Babel where all is confusion, and out of which the people of God are to come and be separate. It was the true Church that was represented by the woman that fled into the wilderness. The prosperous, persecuting Babylon was the great Antichrist. Busher told the King and the Parliament that no harm could come to the State by free discussion of all religious questions. It was necessary to make laws to guard against treason, and, though Jews

CHAP. V. Busher says, have little else to build their doctrine on than the Fathers. And if not allowed to reason from the Fathers, they will have very little to say. This was certainly a great limitation in a plea for universal liberty of conscience and freedom of discussion.

A treatise which Samuel Rutherford had before him besides those of John Goodwin and Jeremy Taylor, was 'The Ancient Bounds; or, Liberty of Conscience, Truly Stated, Modestly Asserted, and Mildly Vindicated' (1645), and does not bear any authority. A preface says that the 'object was first to instruct the Christian in his right to free judging, and accepting of the truth he holds, and secondly to vindicate a necessary adherence to the truth which would result from this freedom of argument of the book is built on the supremacy of the Christian religion. It is God's throne. As every man is a microcosm or epitome of the world of nature, so every believer is an epitome of Christ mystical. All vice is contrary to the light of nature. It does not proceed from corruption but from an evil will.

The author of 'The Ancient Bounds' does not give to the Christian magistrate the power and right to enforce the true religion, and to repress heresy. A man who is a magistrate cannot merge his Christianity in his civil office. His duty as a Christian is enlarged by his magistracy. It is not changed. Morality must be within his cognizance. The Christian ministers being teachers of the moral virtues, the magistrate is to protect them, so that they may teach the people in safety. Here the second table of the law is commanded to the magistrate. He is not to see God dishonoured by a manifest breach of morality. As for the first table, it is his duty to keep it, so far at least as the light of nature reveals. He must put down all idolatry; image worship, the grossest of 'the *breaden god*, the grossest idolatry of all.' He is to put down blasphemy as a common nuisance to mankind, and he is not to tolerate the profanation of the Lord's name. All these things are by the light of nature manifested.

Idolatry not
to be toler-
ated.

He may do anything for the truth, so long as men of a different mind are left to their own conscience. It is the duty of the magistrate to do all he can for truth. He is to recommend, profess, persuade, and even teach what is true, but he is not to use force to make men believe. 'The Ancient Bounds' seems to be the work of an Independent. Its plea for liberty is simply an argument against coercion. It is directed especially against the 'Covenant.' The author is opposed to persecution, but it would be difficult for the civil magistrate to interfere in religion to the extent here recommended, without interfering also with the liberty of the individual conscience.

It is sometimes outside of ecclesiastical circles that we get the best insight into the theological spirit of any given age. Men who are in daily contact with the naked realities of life, are often indifferent to abstractions which, in the judgment of the clergy, are of the highest moment. The religious life of a nation may always be tested by its influence among the intelligent laity. It too often happens that the people submit their judgments to the clergy, in which case the result is only evil. It is worse still when the national thought is opposed to the ecclesiastical. The normal condition is when they mutually influence each other. In the seventeenth century books on religion were mostly written by the clergy. The exceptions are some theological writings by members of other professions. The two men whom we select as representatives of this class, at the era of the Restoration, are Sir Thomas Browne and Sir Matthew Hale, the one a physician and the other a lawyer. A physician, in the prosecution of the physical studies which belong to his profession, is necessarily in immediate contact with theology. If his spirit is secular and merely utilitarian, it may never rise above the study of the material and observation of the phenomena of nature. If his spirit is really scientific, it must be theological. His theology will probably be a heresy in the eyes of the Church, but a theology it must be, and for this simple reason, that the study of nature is the study

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verence of the all-pervading spirit of nature. The 'Medici' of Sir Thomas Browne was of the former not without a mixture of the latter.

In the beginning of the treatise the author takes the general suspicion that physicians have no religion or if they have, that it is a very indifferent one. He speaks a proverbial saying that where three physicians are, two of them are atheists. Sir Thomas Browne vindicates his profession from the charge of irreligion. He speaks in the first person, but placing himself, we apprehend he speaks for all physicians. He is a Christian, but he points out the points of his faith which he will not ardently defend. There are errors which he will not violently oppose. The very nature of these questions teaches him moderation. He is a Protestant because he adheres to the Reformation. He confesses in himself a tendency to superstition which he finds it necessary to check. He might reverence the water and the crucifix. The Ave Maria bell has a sound. He respects the sincerity of the Roman Catholics but pities his misplaced devotion. He believes in the articles of the Church of England. Where Scripture is silent, the Church is his text, and where both are silent, he follows the dictates of his own reason. It is, he says, a scandal of our enemies to reckon the nativity of Christ from Henry VIII. That monarch did what his predecessors had tried to do in times past. The Pope calls him a heretic but charity should teach us not to call him an atheist. He is the man of sin. The physician has no genius for religion. An inconsiderate zeal for truth may injure the patient. A man is not a proper champion to stand up against difficulties. When difficulties come in the way, it is best to follow the doctor or at least to defer them till more manly reason can solve them. 'In divinity,' Sir Thomas Browne says, 'I will keep one road, and though not in an implied or humble faith, follow the great wheel of the Church.'

He does not explain what he means by an humble faith.

tional, at the same time it must be sufficiently orthodox to harmonize with that of the Church of England. He tells us of heresies which he had once entertained, but which he has now rejected. One was, that the souls of men perished with their bodies, and did not live again till the resurrection. Another was, that God would not persist in His vengeance for ever, but would at last relieve the souls of the wicked from the torments of hell; a third, which, however, he never practised, but wished that it had been agreeable to truth, was prayer for the dead. The physician fell into heresies, but he was restored by returning to the faith of the Church. He learned to answer all objections by the saying of Tertullian, 'it is certain because it is impossible.' He blessed himself that he did not live in the days of those who saw miracles, for then he could not have had the happiness of believing without evidence. Since he was of understanding to know that we know nothing, his reason was more pliable to faith. He believed that there was a tree in Paradise of whose fruit Adam and Eve partook, although the plants of the field were not yet grown, for God had not caused it to rain upon the earth. He believed the serpent crawled upon its belly before the curse was, and as a physician he knew that some women escaped the curse connected with childbirth. Faith taught him to believe many things which reason tried to persuade him were false.

Sir Thomas Browne was one of those philosophers who reasoned or believed at the dictate of fancy. He followed reason when it suited him, and faith when he preferred faith. He vindicated the doctrine of predestination, on the ground that there was no distinction of past, present, or future with God. The *I AM* was ever the same in His doings and His designs. Predestination in this sense is obviously beyond the reach either of man's defending or denying. But the physician for a time becomes mystical. Pythagoras helps him to understand the Trinity. Hermes convinces him that the visible world is but an image of the invisible. The Divine Being is wise because He compre-

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tical. Knowledge of this kind, he says, is too high for us. We only see a reflex of the Deity. Our understanding is dimmer than the eye of Moses. We must be content to trace the footprints which God has left in nature, and to pay the debt which reason owes to God. This world is not a mere accident to a cause. So beauteous a structure can only be the production of divine art. Everything is made for an end. Nature has no 'grotesques.' The works of nature are the teachers of the Pagans. The natural motion of the sun taught them more than the Israelites learned by its still in the valley of Gibeon. The heathen read more in the book of nature than we do, because we are accustomed to read in another book.

The book of nature.

By not reading the book of nature aright, many of our great men have had their devotion perverted into atheism. Passion and reason have conspired against faith. The physicians have deavoured to compose these feuds. The proponents of faith seem absurd to reason, and those of reason, to faith. But the commonwealth of the soul should be so constituted that all the three should be kings, and yet but one monarchy. The doubts in divinity 'the physician cannot in a martial position,' but 'on his knees.' Sir Thomas says, the devil with whom in this conflict we have to contend. The devil wished to resolve the miracle of the serpent into the power of sympathy, and to exchange bitumen or naphtha the miracle of Elijah when he trenched the altar round with water. But these resolutions were resisted. Faith in the Divine Omnipotence solved all difficulties in the way of believing miracles, not only miracles, but all things supernatural, in which at that time believed. 'For my part,' Sir Thomas says, 'I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are devils.' He rejects, indeed, some of the more vulgar forms of faith in witchcraft, but he does believe that devils possess men's bodies. He believes also that every man has a guardian angel, that the world is full of spirits, and that there may be, as Plato and the old philosophers said,

fire and scintillation of that noble and mighty essence, which is the life and radical heat of spirits.' The Platonic scale of creation was too fascinating a conception not to commend itself to the imagination of Sir Thomas Browne, even had it been less supported than it is by the facts of the physical world. That man was the microcosm of nature, seemed but a trope of rhetoric till his second thoughts told him that there was some truth in it.

On the nature of faith and the resurrection of the body, Sir Thomas Browne expresses himself almost in the words of Bishop Pearson. Only to believe possibilities, he says, is not faith, it is mere philosophy. Among the matters of faith impossible to reason, was the belief that the very particles of the body would all be restored at the resurrection. But though this is pronounced possible only to faith, Sir Thomas immediately explains, by analogies from nature, how it is possible to reason. Hell is explained rationally as something in the heart of man. There are many hells. There were more than one hell in Mary Magdalene; every devil was a hell. It is not reckoned within the province of reason to pronounce judgment concerning the final state of the good men among the heathen who lived before the incarnation of Christ. Sir Thomas says it seems hard that they should not be saved. There ought at least to be a limbo for them in hell, where their sufferings may not be extreme. Yet he dare not question the justice of God, if they should awake to torments, because of the sin of Adam. Then he explains by reason how these good works were only the result of living according to the rule of nature. They followed that rule as beasts follow the rule of their lives. It is, then, no merit in them that they were good men. These examples show that salvation is only through Christ, and that the most perfect actions of men have no title or claim to heaven. Sir Thomas Browne was only a philosopher by fits. He did not believe that virtue was its own reward. He looked for a reward superadded as necessary to encourage men to practise it; and when he

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Sir Matthew
Hale.

On 'The Ori-
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thodox than those of the profession of medicine less to do either with nature or speculative philosophy seek in religion rather a rule of life than a subject of disquisition. We owe to lawyers many valuable treatises and writings, but there is scarcely one who has been a sect, or a great teacher of heresy. Bacon and the two of whom we have already had occasion to speak are rigidly orthodox. Sir Matthew Hale is no exception. He was educated among Puritans, and though a Conformist at the Restoration retained through life the religious strictness which he learned and practised in his youth. Besides several works on practical religion, Sir Matthew Hale wrote a treatise of some length on 'The Primitive Origination of Mankind.' He examined the subject simply in the light of nature. After comparing the various hypotheses of Pagan philosophers with the account in the Book of Genesis he came to the conclusion that the latter, apart from the question of inspiration, was the most agreeable to reason.

This work may be classed among those on the philosophy of religion. Its immediate object is not to defend Theism or Christianity, yet the author says that he does not know any better preservative against atheism than a consideration of the origination of mankind. He shows that by the usual metaphysical arguments, the theists suppose the world eternal. If the world had a beginning of course it follows that man must have had a beginning. But the positive evidence is derived from facts which have not, indeed, as to any events of past times, evidence which is infallible. We have only moral evidence that such men as Augustus, William the Conqueror, Henry VIII. ever lived. We have only moral evidence that there is such a city as Venice or Rome. The question is one of history, even of the earliest history, and the alleged facts themselves must be measured by their congruity with other things. Another argument is the late invention of arts, an argument common with

questions on which these arguments were based, were supposed to be settled in Sir Matthew Hale's day, but modern inquiries have placed them all in a different light. This work was intended, the author says, as but a discourse in the outward court of the temple. It proceeds no further than to show that the Mosaic account of creation is supported by facts of history, so far as we can learn them. The theology is, that all was made for man, that man was made for God, and that this life is a probation in which God has endowed us with free-will. It is preparatory to final and everlasting blessedness. God has made us for Himself, and in seeking His glory we seek our own happiness.*

* The great blot on Sir Matthew Hale's reputation is the burning of the witches at Bury St. Edmund's. Amy Duny and Rose Callender, two wrinkled old women, were charged with laying spells on several children, particularly William Durent, Elizabeth Pacy, and Deborah Pacy. The bewitching of William Durent rested on the testimony of his mother, who said that seven years ago, when he was a child, she had given Amy Duny a penny to take care of him for the day, charging her not to give the child suck. That night the child fell into fits, and was therefore supposed to have been bewitched. Dr. Jacob, a physician at Yarmouth, who knew something of witchcraft, told the mother to put the child into a blanket, and if there was anything in the blanket, she was to throw it into the fire. That same night a toad fell out of the blanket, which being cast into the fire, caused a great explosion like gunpowder, and vanished up the chimney. Next day Amy Duny was found to be in a deplorable condition, her face and legs being all scorched. The father of the two girls Pacy said that he had refused to give Amy Duny and Rose Callender some herrings, and they were on that account very angry. Soon after this his two girls were taken ill, and large quantities

of pins and twopenny nails came out of their throats. The girls declared that Amy Duny and Rose Callender visited them in the shape of a bee and a mouse. It was also shown that Amy Duny had bewitched a cart which had wrenched the window of her cottage. The cart that day was overthrown several times. Amy Duny had also predicted that some geese which a neighbour had bought would all be destroyed, which prediction was duly fulfilled. The Jury returned a verdict of *Guilty*, though it is specially recorded, and even as evidence against the accused, that 'as soon as the witnesses came into Court they were struck dumb, and could utter nothing but inarticulate sounds, nor did they regain the use of their speech till the verdict was given.' It is strange that lawyers, ministers, and even physicians, should have had such faith in witchcraft as to burn old women on such evidence as this. It is not fair, however, to make this belief in witchcraft the test of the rational progress of an age. This special belief remained long after every foundation on which it rested had been overturned. In the estimate of progress it must certainly be allowed to have its weight, but it ought not to be taken as the sole measure.

CHAPTER VI.

RATIONAL THEOLOGIANS. — JOHN HALES, OF ETON.
 CHILLINGWORTH. — THOMAS HOBBS, OF MALMES-
 PLIES TO HOBBS. — LORD CLARENDON. — ARCHBISHOP
 — ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL. — SAMUEL CLARKE. — BISHOP
 — THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS. — DR. CUDWORTH
 MORE. — JOHN SMITH. — BENJAMIN WHICHCOT. — BISHOP
 LAND. — LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY. — REPLIES TO
 BERT. — JOHN LOCKE. — THOMAS HALYBURTON. — DANIEL
 — RICHARD BAXTER.

WE have reserved for this Chapter the names of the writers who were properly outside of the Anglican and Puritan strifes. To Episcopacy and the Anglican of the Church they had no special attachment, and at the same time no special objection. In their eyes these were matters that belonged to the necessary outward form. In the same way they regarded doctrines, which others held to be essential, as mere forms of a doctrine which might sometimes be wisely put in another form. These writers have been called Latitudinarians, Rationalists, Platonists, and so on, like names, none of which are very appropriate, which fail to describe the men when put into words. In words, in modes of speech, and generally in the mode of thinking, they are all in some respects at variance with the words, and frequently with the tone of the

Rational theologians.

who did not think it a sin to differ either from the Fathers or the Reformers. Other parties did this, and denied that they did it. The Latitudinarians, on the other hand, recognized such differences in different ages, as the necessary conditions of mental and spiritual development.

The Church of England's transition from Calvinism to Arminianism in the time of James and Charles, was one of those inevitable changes which come over every progressive community. Calvinism was the embodiment of Christian doctrine that grew out of the necessities of the Reformation. A milder form of the doctrines of grace might have been ineffectual to check the errors of the Church of Rome as to the merit of ceremonial works, and the virtue of the sacramental *opus operatum*. Luther and Calvin found the strength of their cause in the conviction that salvation was from Christ only, and without the mediation of any church or priest. The Arminian form of the doctrine is sufficiently distinct, but the doctrine was fortified, so to speak, in the system of Calvin, by being connected with an unconditional election of some men to eternal life. If the elect were chosen before they had done good or evil, there was no place left for the necessity of good works, and consequently no ground on which the Church of Rome could erect its doctrine of priestly mediation.

But the hypothesis of an unconditional election was not absolutely necessary to the argument. The Protestant principle was found to be clear without it. At the first wave of fresh thought after the Reformation, it struggled for existence. It was cast aside by the Churches of Holland and Geneva. The Church of England hastened to uphold it at the Synod of Dort, but there were changes going on in the Church of England, and there, too, it was convenient to drop the theology of Calvin and Augustine, and to fall back on what was called the 'Catholic' doctrine of universal love.

Among the Englishmen present at the Synod of Dort was 'the ever-memorable John Hales, of Eton.' He had gone John

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Bids 'good
night to John
Calvin.'

of Dort, to use his own words, he 'bade good night Calvin.' In giving up Calvinism, Hales parted with orthodox Churchmen, who soon after had to defend the Church of England against the new Arminians. As he was a High Churchman, he could not take part with the Church of England who embraced Arminianism. He went back in search of authority for something which might be 'Catholic.' Hales preferred reason to authority. His tracts, in manuscript, had come under the notice of Archbishop Laud, who sent for him, and, as Heylin tells the story, they had an excited debate over it, which ended in Laud procuring for Hales a prebend's stall at Westminster.

We can only judge of Hales from his tracts and his 'Remains,' which consist chiefly of sermons written at the periods of his life. He was a reserved man, and almost alone with wide theological sympathies, he was exposed on all sides to suspicions of heresy. Arminian and Socinian were names freely applied to him, and even said that he took pleasure in reading the works of the Familists. He buried himself in books; he read more than he wrote; he thought more than he said; he waited God's time; like a true believer, he did not hurry in haste. Firm faith and calm hope are always needed to dispel the melancholy which threatens to gather in the soul of a great man who in religion has taken no advance of the world around him. He is not anxious to make mere converts to his opinions, nor to rebuke those who differ from him. He is content to say what he believes to be true. He knows that others will agree with him if they have the light which he has. He knows, too, that if he will himself believe differently should he get more light than he has now.

On the Lord's
Supper.

One of Hales' tracts is on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Here the difference of language from the Reformers is marked. The substance of what the Reformers taught when they spoke plainly is retained, all that they seemed to teach when they used the

he had plainly rejected the doctrine which that language was supposed to teach. The High Churchman, in retaining the language, retained also the doctrine which Cranmer had rejected. Hales received Cranmer's doctrine, but refused Cranmer's speech. He denied that there was any virtue in consecration, or that it was necessary to the celebration of the Supper. In Jesus the action of blessing the bread and the wine was proper and natural to the circumstances. But He gave no command that His disciples, in continuing the memory of the last Supper, were to use any words. St. Ambrose made it necessary to a sacrament that something be said and something done. Hales says it is enough that one thing is done by which something else is signified. He thought that if the words of consecration could be omitted, a great part of the superstition which attends the action of consecration would be cut away. Some persons speak of the body and blood of Christ being present, but not carnally, which Hales compares to the 'nonsense' of the divines of the Church of Rome, who tell us that the blood of Christ is really sacrificed, but not as blood. To this manifest solecism of the presence of a body spiritually, Hales traces 'the crude speeches of the learned of the Reformed parts,' when they tell the divines of the Church of Rome that they acknowledge a presence, but are ignorant of the manner how it is. This conceit, as he calls it, is declared to be not only a 'falsehood,' but a 'mere novelty.' It is nowhere to be found among the ancients. It originated with Martin Bucer, who was unreasonably afraid of separating too far from the Church of Rome. From him it descended to Calvin and Beza, and through their influence it found its way into all the Reformed Churches. Hales' own doctrine is, that in the Lord's Supper there is nothing given except bread and wine, and these are signs not of something there exhibited, but of Christ's body and blood, which were given for us many centuries ago. Jesus Christ is not eaten by any, either spiritually or really. The eating of His body is a figure, and the benefit intended by

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CHAP. VI. memoration of His death. It is also a witness to
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The 'keys.'

Hales explains the 'keys' as the doctrine of the including the administration of sacraments, or what manifestation of the doctrine of the Gospel. The the keys is declarative. Every Christian now li this power, not only for his own use, but for the l others. To exercise it is to teach men Christian lead them into the way of life, or, to use Hales' ex 'to save souls.' A Church as distinct from the c tion of believers is unknown to him. Men and clergymen and laymen, are all simply believers in r the Church. The pretensions of the Church of dealt with in a few pointed sentences. That gene cils may not err, and yet the individual persons ma pronounces 'a merry speech.' Christ has prom petual assistance to His Church, but he has now phesied that the Church should perpetually adhere To those that persevere to the end, Christ has the victory over death and hell. Against them the hell, which is a Hebraism for hell, shall not prev benefit of confession Hales illustrates by a quota Pliny. That author says that when one is bitten by a if he go and whisper it in the ear of an ass, he s once relieved. Hales says he doubts not but that scorpion, and that its bite is deadly. But as for reign remedy of whispering it in the ear either of or, what is the same thing, the animal mentioned he believes the one as much as the other.

On schism.

The tract on schism is the best known of the 'G mains,' probably from the circumstance that it is which Laud took notice. Hales calls heresy and s theological scarecrows. They are commonly used who uphold a party, to frighten sincere people quiry. Heresy is an act of the will. It is not a take. If it were, then all men would be hereti men have some errors. It is a wilful mistake.

Mahometanism are heresies truly and properly. The authors from whom they were named, invented them, knowing that what they taught was false. But this cannot be said of Arius, Nestorius, and some others, who erred about the Trinity. Their errors were not wilful, and therefore not to be called heresies. To avoid schism, Hales recommends the expurgation from all liturgies of all that is offensive to any party, and leaving nothing but that on which all parties agree. Loading public forms with men's private fancies, is the sure way, he says, to perpetuate schism to the end of the world.

From the sermons we may learn more fully what were Hales' views of the Church and the Scriptures. One is on the text 'My kingdom is not of this world.' If the text be true, it is useless to look for the kingdom of Christ here. To write of 'notes' by which it may be known, is 'a learned impertinence.' The Church cannot be pointed out if it is not of this world. The devil could show Jesus all the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory of them, but Christ's kingdom was not any of these. It is the glory of His kingdom that it is invisible. When we call any company of professing Christians the Church, it is only a speech of courtesy. We hope in charity that they all are what they profess to be. To send men up and down the world to find the Church is but 'Popish madness.' It is like the children of the prophets seeking Elias, or the nobles of Jerusalem seeking Jeremy the prophet. They could not find him, because the Lord had hid him. The profession of the Gospel is like a city set on a hill. It is easy to know what true Christianity is, but the true kingdom of God, which consists only of the true believers, is, as Jesus said, like a treasure hid in a field. Saul was sent to seek his father's asses, and found a kingdom. If we go in search of our Father's kingdom, looking for it as a visible Church, the contrary of what befel Saul may befall us. Instead of the kingdom we may find 'asses.' Jesus directs us in the Gospel where to find His kingdom. It is in the soul. It is in-

CHAP. VI. and see if he can find this kingdom in his heart, find it not there, in vain shall he find it in all besides.'

On the Scrip-
tures.

We know the Scriptures to be the word of God, the testimony of the professing Church. This is a word which all people can understand. Learned men have gathered evidence from the records of antiquity, and differed in their opinions of the books bearing the same titles. If it is objected that this only proves the genuineness of the books, not that they are divine, Hales answers that the miracles proved by those who saw them that the doctrine is of God. The truth and record of these miracles is proof to us. The truth that was proved was the infallibility of the records. Hales has never got into a common circle. The only thing remarkable about him is to find him in it. He mentions two ways by which men may wrest the Scriptures. One is by denying the true meaning, and another is by extracting from them what neither God nor nature ever put in them. The Jews said that the Old Testament had no reference to Christ. Isidore Pelusiota said that everything in the Old Testament referred to Christ. When it is said that the Scripture is the word of God, it is the sense that God speaks to us and not the mere words of the book. The saints of old time had immediate converse with God. Now we have no such thing is committed to writings. They had the Spirit, the Holy Spirit which is promised to us, but in a different manner. What was written by God in their hearts, was written in them in books for our instruction. The Spirit works by stirring up within us a desire to learn, not by giving us information. We have now no direct revelation of God's will which is written in the Scriptures.

William
Chilling-
worth.

A kindred spirit to John Hales, of Eton, was William Chillingworth. He was unlike the men of his age in this one thing, that he recognized in reason the true arbiter of religion. It might be imperfect. It might crave an authority to supersede its use. But what

to understand them. Chillingworth saw that, logically, this was the certain result of the Protestant principle that Scripture alone was to be followed. High Churchmen added something about the primitive Church. We were to take the Scriptures as they had been interpreted by the Fathers. But, as the Fathers had interpreted them in all sorts of ways, it was difficult to make this rule of any practical service. The Puritans were equally bewildered when they spoke of the Scriptures as the judge of controversies, supposing the Spirit of God to be there giving decisions after the manner of a personal judge. Chillingworth saw that the final responsibility must rest with men as individuals. They were to use their faculties honestly to find out the truth. As all men have not the same advantages, and, as reason is not equally developed in all, it is certain that there will be differences of opinion, and that even the wisest will have many errors. But the divine favour will not be refused to those who have done their best, even if they have failed to discern many things which in other circumstances they might have known.

Chillingworth seems to have been a Rationalist from his youth. He hesitated for a long time to declare his 'assent and consent' to the Articles of Religion and the Book of Common Prayer. But his scruples lay in another direction from those of the Puritans. The mountains that troubled the Puritans were but sandhills to William Chillingworth. His exceptions were against the outrageous clauses of damnation in the creed of St. Athanasius, the inaccurate and generally misunderstood language of Art. XIII. about 'works' done before justification, and reading the fourth commandment in the communion service, as if the Sabbath were to be observed by Christians in the same sense as it was kept by Jews. Archbishop Laud, who was Chillingworth's godfather, managed so to explain all these things as to satisfy Chillingworth that it was lawful to subscribe. But the reasoning process went on until Chillingworth, dissatisfied that he could get so little certainty by it, put an

CHAP. VI.

His contro-
versy with
Knott the
Jesuit.

nected with every man's being. It was impossible the divine conditions. He must reason, but reason lead him to the abnegation of reason, and he soon to the Church of England.

Chillingworth, with such a mental history, was man to say the right word for Protestantism. arguments it must stand or fall. He came in, as it the middle of a controversy between the Jesuit K Dr. Potter. Knott started with the principle that held right doctrines could alone be saved. Those errors must be lost. So that Roman Catholics and tants cannot both be saved, for the doctrines of bot be true. This principle was generally admitted by tants, so that they each mutually believed in each damnation. Knott, as a Roman Catholic, said Church was the true one, his doctrine the right and therefore Protestants cannot be saved. Chillingworth called his answer 'The Religion of Protestants, a S to Salvation.' He is under no necessity of denying possibility of salvation to Roman Catholics. He to maintain the thesis set forth in the title of his book. This was not entirely new, for Hooker and the more Protestants had already said that Roman Catholics saved, not because of their errors, but because the i and darkness of the times in which they lived excuse for their errors. But though Hooker and Protestants had said this, it was Chillingworth who made it an integral part of the main argument in the controversy with the Church of Rome. That which was culpable in ignorance, error, and unbelief, was the moral and not the mental part.

The Church and the Bible are the two subjects on which all controversy turns between Protestants and the Church of Rome. Knott said that Christ had always had, and always have, a visible Church on the earth; that that Church was the Roman Catholic; that it could not err fundamentally, for such error destroys the essence of

necessary for their salvation.' He believed that there would always be, somewhere or other, such a Church to the end of the world. The Church of Rome is a part of the Catholic Church,—a very corrupt part, yet holding as much truth as is necessary for salvation. We do not totally renounce communion with it. We only leave communicating with Roman Catholics in the practice and profession of their errors. But what by the one side is called an error, is by the other supposed to be a fundamental truth. Knott assumed the existence of an infallible Church. Whatever that Church proposed was to him truth. Whoever doubted what that Church taught was opposed to truth, and therefore without the pale of salvation. Chillingworth denied an infallible Church, and only made that error culpable which a man knew in his conscience to be an error. And then there appeared in this controversy what often appears. Knott was drawing by processes of reasoning conclusions which he did not really believe. He neutralized his own positions by admissions at variance with his argument. Though Protestants, by his logic, could not be saved, yet he said he did not conclude that when a Protestant died he was necessarily lost. There might have been an insufficiency of means for his instruction, or a want of capacity to understand, or contrition may have atoned for his sins. That is to say, there may really be mitigating circumstances in the condition of a Protestant which excuse his errors; and so, notwithstanding his errors, a Protestant may be saved. This charitable admission overturned the argument as expressed in the title of the chapter, that 'among men of different religions, one side only can be saved.'

But the radical difference between Knott and Chillingworth lay in their views of the nature of the faith which God requires of man. Knott, assuming that all which the Church of Rome teaches must be true, measured man's acceptability by the degree of his belief in the Roman Catholic doctrines. Chillingworth admitted the thesis that what-

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‘a true orthodox and Catholic sense.’ Chillingworth answered that if the Scriptures be a ‘perfect rule,’ the very terms of the definition exclude both tradition and the ‘external judge.’ It is not necessary to abrogate laws in order to set them aside. It is enough to deal with them as the Church of Rome deals with the Scriptures, which is to add to them, and to claim the power of interpreting their meaning infallibly. But why should not the Scriptures be the sole judge of controversies, that is, as Chillingworth carefully explains it, ‘the sole rule for men to judge them by’? If it is not, who is to determine concerning *the Church and the notes of it*? And if it be the sole judge of this question, why not of others, or why not of all? There need be no exception, but only ‘wherein the Scripture itself is the subject of the question, which cannot be determined but by natural reason, the only principle besides Scripture which is common to Christianity.’ When Protestants say that Scripture is a perfect rule of faith, Chillingworth explains they do not mean that by it all things necessary to be believed may be absolutely proved. It can never be proved by Scripture to a gainsayer that there is a God, or that the book called Scripture is the word of God. What Protestants mean is, that to those who receive Scripture as divine, it is a complete rule of faith. Our beginning is neither with Scripture nor the Church, but with reason. ‘Every man is to judge for himself with the *judgment of discretion*, and to choose either his religion first, and then his church, as the Protestants say, or, as Roman Catholics say, his church first, and then his religion. But, by the consent of both sides, every man is to judge and choose, and the rule whereby he is to guide his choice, if he be a natural man, is reason; if he be already a Christian, Scripture, which we say is the rule to judge controversies by.’

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The arguments are addressed only to Roman Catholics, who believe the Scripture to be the word of God. Knott's plea was that Scripture, not being a person, cannot judge of controversies any more than a law can decide a case.

CHAP. VI.
 If a rule be
 plain, a guide
 unnecessary.

that end for which it was ordained.' A man does not require a guide, if he has a plain rule by which he can learn his way. If a law be plain and perfect, an honest and anxious to understand it aright, it must be sufficient to end all controversies necessary to be decided. If Scripture is plain in all things essential, and only obscure in things not essential, there is no need whatever of a fallible interpreter. Knott argued for the supremacy and infallibility of the Church from the necessity of a watchful eye should be over the Scripture, that it might receive it in its purity and integrity. Questions of the meaning of Scripture itself could not be, he said, determined by the Church; and he quoted Hooker, that 'that whereof we rest our assurance that the Scripture is God's word, is the Church.' Chillingworth said that the watchfulness of Divine Providence. Since God requires men to keep the Scripture in its purity, He will take care that it is not corrupted. Had we no other assurance but the word of the Church of Rome, our case would be a hard one, for there were various readings in the ancient versions, and we can give a good reason why the Church of Rome has chosen this version and rejects all the others. We receive the books on the tradition of the universal Church, and we believe that they are not corrupted, because we believe in Divine providence. We have here a moral assurance of the truth of the Scripture, than this we do not pretend. Nor can the Church of Rome pretend to more. It is confessed by Popes that the best way to determine the true reading is by the comparison of the ancient copies. For the passages from Hooker which Chillingworth turns to the context. Hooker, indeed, teaches us that ordinarily the first introduction and probable meaning of a word in belief of the verity is the authority of the Church. Hooker plainly denies that it is the last foundation of our belief; our belief is rationally grounded. His words are, 'God teacheth us that saving truth which God hath revealed unto the world by revelation, and it presumeth not to be otherwise.' The Church is not the foundation of our belief, but the authority of the Church is the foundation of our belief.

the Church, it is a rash thing to be of a contrary mind without cause. The more we read the Scripture, the more we find that it answers to what the Church declares it to be. When men question the grounds of our belief, we sift the question deeper to find reasons for it. We go back to see what were the arguments which the ancient Fathers addressed to the unbelievers of their time as reasonable arguments. At last Hooker finds that the Scripture may be defended by some position the denial of which would be to deny some apparent principle which all men acknowledge to be true. Hooker's meaning is explained by Chillingworth, 'that natural reason built on principles common to all men, is the last resolution unto which the Church's authority is but the first inducement.'

The Bible, then, is a certain rule without the Church. Whatever may be our difficulties in receiving the Scripture as our sole guide, they are not greater, but less than those which accompany the Roman Catholic hypothesis of an infallible Church. Knott said that the ignorant and unlearned could not understand the Scripture. Chillingworth answered that in one sense the learned did not understand the Scripture any more than the unlearned; that is, they did not understand *all* Scripture. But the unlearned do understand some Scripture. They can all understand the story, the precepts, the promises, and the threatenings of the Gospel. It is enough for salvation to understand one of the Gospels. The rest of Scripture may be profitable, but it is not necessary to salvation. The Gospel was to be preached to all men, which supposes the essential part of it to be within the reach of the most unlearned. But if the Roman Catholic will raise such questions, there are parallel questions on his own side which have the same difficulties. How is the unlearned man to know which is the true Church? If he does not understand the Scripture, how can he learn from it what are the notes of the true Church? But suppose he does know what are the notes, how is he to be a competent judge what society of Christians has

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CHAP. VI.

The Roman Catholic must begin with reason as well as the Protestant.

Church.' How can an unlearned man know what decrees of the Church? Many of these are lost or corrupted. How can he understand their meaning? How can he be able to understand the plain texts of Scripture? How can he know that they are true decrees? How can he know that any pope is a true pope, or any priest a true priest, or any baptism a true baptism? Before a man believes in the Church infallible, he must use his reason. Roman Catholics as well as heretics, set up as many judges as there are men and women in the world. All must use their reason in choosing their religion. If not, they disobey the commands to try the spirits, to render a reason, and to hold fast to things. They that receive a religion without a reason, give to God the 'sacrifice of fools.'

The remaining chapters of Chillingworth's book contain nothing particularly different from what we find in other Protestant writers. Knott, believing the Church infallible, denied the distinction between fundamental and not fundamental. It was, he said, not 'pertinent in the controversy between Protestants and Roman Catholics, for the Church of Rome is infallible in all its teaching.' Chillingworth said that the Catholic Church could not err in fundamentals. According to his previous definition, the Church Catholic consisted of those who held the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. If the Catholic Church might err in points not fundamental, and in these the Church of Rome had erred, it was not the Catholic Church. The sum of all necessary doctrine was contained in the Apostles' Creed. He vindicated Protestants from the charge of heresy and schism. Though the errors of the Church of Rome were not fundamental, and not damnable to salvation, they did not know that they were errors, yet it was necessary for those who knew that they were, to protest against them. Protestants cannot be heretics so long as they hold fast to the Scriptures for the infallible word of God. These are the Christian truth, and are able to make men wise.

Protestants are not heretics.

argument. It cleared the ground for what was the great question, whether a man in choosing his religion is to take the Church or the Bible as his infallible teacher? There is a great variety of opinions among Roman Catholics, but they all agree in receiving the Church as their guide. There is great diversity of opinion among Protestants, but they all subscribe to the Bible, and to the Bible only, as the perfect rule of their faith and actions. In the Church of Rome there are Popes against Popes, Councils against Councils, Fathers against Fathers, and some Fathers against themselves. The traditional interpretations of Scripture of which so much is said are very few, if any at all can be found. Whatever may be said for the Church as a guide, much more can be said for the Scripture. It is ancient, it is universal, it is infallible. He that follows the Church of Rome must believe impossibilities. He must be prepared to believe that virtue is vice and vice is virtue, if the Pope shall so determine. But he who follows Scripture must refuse every doctrine which is contrary to the Gospel of Christ.

Another remarkable author of the time of the Commonwealth, who has had a great and complex influence on the theology of England, was Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury. To understand his position, we must try to find out his relations to those who were before, and to those who came after him.

For the last two hundred years the name of Thomas Hobbes has been a name of terror to the religious world. Sceptic, deist, atheist, infidel, monster, are the epithets that have been generally bestowed upon him. When a man familiar with Hobbes' evil reputation comes for the first time to his works, there is a feeling of perplexity and wonder how one who has so clearly and fully enunciated his faith in God and the Christian revelation, should ever have been accused of unbelief in any form. Not only is Hobbes a professed believer in Christianity, but in the most orthodox form of it,—an upholder of the royal supremacy, an Episco-

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CHAP. VI. he can be called a rationalist or a free-thinker arrived at conclusions entirely opposed both to and free-thinking.

Was Hobbes
sincere ?

The first solution which offers itself is the that Hobbes did not write sincerely,—that under of defending revelation he took every opportunity doubts concerning it. This supposition is untenable do not know what any man believed if we do not know what Thomas Hobbes believed. If we doubt *his* sincerity we may as well doubt the sincerity of any man who professed to be a Christian. Hobbes may be eccentric or eccentric ; he may even be irreconcilable with what is more probable, not always understood ; but no reason for supposing him insincere. It is indeed, that Hobbes should have ever been misunderstood. The writer is so careful of definition, and no author of the has been so much praised for the elegance, vigour and plainness of his language. There is, besides, in Hobbes the completeness of system. All his ideas depend on His mathematics fit into his physics, his physics into his politics, his politics into his religion. Isolated sentences are startling, and sometimes contradictory in their proper relations they can all generally be brought to one connected whole.

Traces the
origin of all
things to motion.

Were we to begin at the beginning, we should give an account of Hobbes' doctrine of motion, to which the origin of all life and existence. It will, however, be our purpose better to go at once to his politics, for his religious doctrines are inseparably connected with his of civil government. Though he starts as a philosopher, and ends as an expounder of Christianity, the Christian creed is the centre around which all his political pillar on which all rests. Hobbes lived in the age of the mentalists. He was contemporary with Bacon. He had just discovered that the earth moves ; Harvey that blood circulates. The attention of all philosophers was

power were divided into a multitude of sects,—some of them wild and fanatical. To Hobbes, everything in Church and State was in confusion. He would teach a doctrine that was to cure all these evils, restore order to the kingdom, and bring all sects to uniformity of religion. Among the new sciences, he claimed to be the founder of Civil Philosophy. He first embodied his doctrines in 'De Cive; or, The Philosophical Elements of a True Citizen;' afterwards in a more matured form in the great work with which his name is always associated, 'Leviathan; or, The Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil.'

The 'Leviathan' was published in 1651. It consisted of four parts:—*Of Man, Of a Commonwealth, Of a Christian Commonwealth, Of the Kingdom of Darkness.* Man by nature is regarded as a savage. His desires are to preserve himself and injure his neighbour. He lives in a state of war. Every man being equal to every other man, and all having an equal right to everything, the possession depends on the power of getting it. This view of human nature was very dark. In its relations and consequences it shocked even the most determined believers in the *total depravity* of the human race. But Hobbes derived his doctrine from actual observation. The men by whom he was surrounded were distrustful of each other. Anarchy, as he judged, had gained the ascendancy. In the civil wars men had returned to the state of nature. Hobbes saw them as *children of wrath*, hateful and hating each other. There was wanted a power to hinder them from injuring each other; a power both to teach what is right, and to compel the performance of it. This power is the Commonwealth, represented by the 'Leviathan,' to which no power on earth can be compared. It restrains the natural passions of men, and of warlike savages it makes peaceable and benevolent citizens. It is 'the mortal god to whom, under the immortal God, we owe our protection and safety.'

This description already anticipates the reverence and

CHAP. VI.

His laws constitute right and wrong.

with the followers of the Stuarts. It had risen, seen, with the national desire to be rid of the so of the Pope. Hobbes was sincerely attached to cause. The Puritans, who expelled the reigning may have been lovers of order and government the Royalists; and perhaps, with their apparent better friends to a genuine commonwealth; but the fight for justice with bold words and sharp swords. who was by nature a coward, would have had the implicit obedience to the lawful sovereign, the restorative of order, and, as he said, the divinely-appointed. The sovereign being to the people in the place must be absolute. He cannot injure his subjects; his acts are their acts. He cannot act unjustly towards them for they hold their property conjointly with him; it belongs to the King as well as to them. His laws must be just and unjust. The people cannot change the government. As the sovereign *cannot* break his promises to them, his royal power cannot be forfeited; nor can he be punished by his subjects. He is to make peace and choose his own councillors, to decree what opinions and doctrines are to be taught, and to be the judge in controversies. From the historical fact that Hobbes was on the side of the Royalists, it has been generally concluded that he said all these things about the sovereign power to justify the enormities of those who had executed the usurped the government. This is more than probable; yet Hobbes' earliest adversaries were the Royalists; and his last and best friends are the liberal politicians of the present day.* In extravagant expression of his political opinions he outdid the first, and yet they instinctively hated him; and as words go, he has condemned, without an atonement, all that is dear to the last; and yet they remember him in memory as that of one who helped forward the human progress, and did something for the science of government. No one has yet tried to explain this fact. But do we not find the explanation in what

sages, is not the same as Hobbes in his entire system? CH
 His Commonwealth was the assertion of principles wider and deeper than the vindication of the Stuarts. It was the assertion of the divinity of order, of the majesty of law, of the necessity that kings should rule in equity, and that subjects should obey righteous governors. It would be easy to quote many passages from the 'Leviathan' which seem to oppose this interpretation, but there are many things that confirm it. The Commonwealth of which Hobbes discoursed was avowedly *ideal*. It had nowhere been realized. The perfection was to be reached after many efforts and failures. To use his own illustration, it was not at once that men learned to build houses that would last as long as the materials; but after long experience they did succeed, and so would it be with the perfect Commonwealth. That Hobbes is not a mere Royalist, but a teacher of order, seems to be clear from what he says of the *generation* of the 'Leviathan.' The sovereign power may come by *acquisition*, but it may also come by institution; indeed, this is its more legitimate form. Men constitute themselves into a commonwealth for their mutual benefit; so that those who before were wolves to each other, become *gods* to each other. They unite for protection and defence. For the sake of this common good they surrender their individual wills, and deny themselves liberties which they had in the state of nature. They commit the government of themselves to the Commonwealth, and in virtue of the united strength given up by individuals, the 'Leviathan' becomes the terror of their adversaries. This power is personated, but not necessarily, by a monarch either hereditary or chosen. There are several kinds of commonwealths. The sovereign power may be lodged in one person, in which case we have a monarchy. It may be committed to some chosen leaders, then we have an aristocracy; or it may be retained by a popular assembly, and this is called government by democracy. Hobb
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But the sovereign ruler is not only absolute in things temporal; the same jurisdiction extends to things spiritual. The F

CHAP. VI. wealth and the Church of the nation are coextensive

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are so connected as sometimes to seem identical. The authority of the Church is derived from the bishops, indeed, say, in the beginning of the matter, 'Divine Providence,' which is the same as by 'the God;' and 'thus deny to have received their authority from the civil State, and slyly slip off the collar of civil subjection, contrary to the unity and deference to the Commonwealth.' Hobbes, however, finds it difficult to draw a just line between the authority of the civil ruler and the Church, and especially as he traces the origin of ecclesiastical power to the Apostles. It had descended from God by imposition of hands to all who had been predestined. He says, in one place, that the prince is the interpreter of the mysteries of the faith to be interpreted by the people, and he admits that in the primitive Church the people had liberty to interpret the Scriptures for themselves. The bishops were pastors from the beginning, but their interpretation had no authority till either 'kings were pastors, or bishops kings.' In another place he puts the civil ruler between the clergy and the laity: 'without the sanction of the priesthood, and yet not so merely laic as not to have episcopal jurisdiction.' But Hobbes is most consistent with his own doctrine, though not with himself, when he says that 'the king may baptize, preach, and consecrate, and perform all other offices without the laying on of hands.' He says, is king by *the grace of God*; but the bishops are only by the grace of the king.

For the Presbyterians, Quakers, and other sectaries of the seventeenth century, who spoke about worshipping God according to their conscience, and not according to the law of the State religion, Hobbes had ready the never-failing example of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. They rebelled against Moses, their civil ruler; and if the sectaries follow their example, what could they expect but to 'perish in the saying of Core'? Unfortunately, St. Peter had

country would condemn Mahometans who denied Mahomet and worshipped in a Christian church in obedience to the civil ruler. A denial of Christ might be prejudicial to the Church. Yet a man may hold the faith of Christ in his heart, though he does not profess it before men when he knows that they will put him to death for the profession. If we are compelled to worship God by an image, though we may reckon image worship dishonourable to the Divine Being, yet we are to obey. An image, indeed, limits the *Infinite*, but the responsibility rests with the ruler, and not with us. This doctrine, however, has another side. It is possible that the sovereign may command his subjects to blaspheme God, or to abstain from Divine worship. In either case Hobbes declares at once that it is *not* their duty to obey. And even as to idol-worship, obedience is only due to the sovereign so long as we have no other authority than the dictates of reason, for the will of the sovereign power stands to us for reason. But since, both in the old and new covenants, worship by images is expressly forbidden, we are free to disobey the Commonwealth when it commands what is contrary to the express word of God. An unlearned man in the power of an idolatrous king may worship an idol, and 'he doth well, though in his heart he detests the idol; yet, if he has the fortitude to suffer death rather than worship it, he doeth better.' But Hobbes adds, 'If he be a pastor, who, as Christ's messenger, has undertaken to teach Christ's doctrine to all nations, should he do the same, it were not only a sinful scandal in respect of other men's consciences, but a perfidious forsaking of his charge.' In another place he makes it part of our civil duty to know what are the laws and commandments of God, that we may know when to give obedience to the civil authority, and when to the Divine Majesty. It was a vice in Hobbes' theory not to have made the sovereign infallible. It is admitted that though he cannot sin against his subjects, yet he can sin against God. He may ordain what is contrary to eternal equity, or to the revealed will of God. We must, however, obey the sovereign

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CHAP. VI. their peculiarities for the sake of order ; yet there
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 vation. These, however, are reduced to the *min*
 fact, to this single article—the belief that *Jes*
Christ.

The Kingdom of Darkness. The fourth part of 'Leviathan' concerns the K
 Darkness. This is the kingdom of Satan, from
 Church is not yet entirely free. The enemy still s
 We err by not understanding the Scriptures, and
 ing the heathen doctrines concerning demons, whic
 idols or phantasies of the brain. But the greatest
 of Scripture is that which makes the kingdom of
 the visible Christian Church. And consequent
 the claim of the Pope, or some ecclesiastical assen
 God's representatives in this kingdom—an offic
 given only to civil sovereigns. And so the Pope o
 Christian kings must receive their crowns from him
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 deprived at his pleasure. From this, too, arises t
 supposing that the pastors are *clergy*, maintained
 tribe of Levi, out of the revenues by Divine app
 and this error of supposing that they have a su
 office makes them confound *consecration* with *con*
 that they pretend to convert bread and wine into
 and blood of a man—yea, of a God ; while by cha
 cantations over children they profess to exorcise c
 as if infants were demoniacs. Of the ceremonies a
 of the Church of Rome, Hobbes finds the original
 terpart in the demonology and vain philosophy of
 world. But the foundation of all is the confound
 visible Church with the kingdom of God. Here
 of Rome, under pretence of successor to St. Peter,
 his kingdom of darkness, which Hobbes compa
 kingdom of the *fairies*,—that is, the old wives' *fab*
 land concerning ghosts and spirits, and the feat
 form in the night. The Papacy is the ghost of th
 Roman empire sitting crowned upon its grave.

The Pope
 reigns over
 the Kingdom
 of Darkness.

where they practise their spells and exorcisms like the fairies in their enchanted castles. They take from young men the use of reason by certain charms, compounded of metaphysics and miracles, traditions and abused Scripture, just as the *fairies* take young children out of their cradles and change them into natural fools or *elves*, fit only for mischief. When the fairies are displeased with anybody they send the *elves* to pinch them; so do the ecclesiastics pinch princes by preaching sedition. Several parallels of this kind Hobbes draws between the Papacy and the kingdom of the *fairies*. The last is, that, like the kingdom of the fairies, the spiritual power of the Pope has no existence but in the fancies of ignorant people. 'It was not therefore,' he says, 'a very difficult matter for Henry VIII. by his exorcisms, nor for Queen Elizabeth by hers, to cast them out. But who knows that this spirit of Rome—now gone out, and walking by missions through the dry places of China, Japan, and the Indies, that yield him little fruit—may not return, or rather an assembly of spirits worse than he, enter and inhabit this clean-swept house, and make the end thereof worse than the beginning? *For it is not the Roman clergy only that pretend the kingdom of God to be of this world, and thereby to have a power therein, distinct from that of the Civil State.*'

We have already alluded to Hobbes' general agreement with what is considered orthodox theology. In stating the grounds of the Christian faith he gives full validity to the evidence from miracles and prophecy. He maintains the necessity of supernatural evidence for some things which he says are beyond the reach of reason; as, that Jesus is the Christ, that the soul is immortal, that there are rewards and punishments after this life. Not content with this, he declares the incapacity of reason to judge concerning the attributes of God. He believed, with the strictest of the Puritans, that God had only elected to eternal life a small number of the human race, and that the rest were reprobate. To an objector he answered that it was rash to speak of what consisted or did not consist with the Divine justice. God's

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Hobbes and
Bishop Pearson.

How far
Hobbes is
rational.

it. Job's friends connected his sufferings with his sin, but God refutes them by showing that He is the Ruler of the universe, asking, 'Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?' Hobbes makes sometimes a sharp distinction between reason and faith, excluding the first. The mysteries of religion were received with a blind faith. To use his own too excellent illustration, they should be taken without examination *man takes bitter but wholesome pills*. This passage is the most offensive of all that Hobbes has written. Maurice says there is no doubt 'latent irony' in it. If it is, it must be very *latent*. There is nothing in the position to lead to the supposition that Hobbes did not say what he said. Quite in agreement with this is Hobbes' doctrine concerning faith, to which Mr. Maurice also alludes. It is, that we believe a prophet speaks in the name of God simply because he says so, and thus our faith is rational in men. 'If,' says Mr. Maurice, 'our readers dissent from these last conclusions as much as we do, we are bound to say that they are not more the conclusions of Hobbes than of his contemporary, Bishop Pearson, whom Englishmen are taught not only to revere for his piety and learning, but to accept as their theological guide.'

Notwithstanding Hobbes' denunciation of philosophy, the sharp distinction which he made between reason and faith, he pronounces reason to be the undoubted basis of religion. God,—a talent which the Master has put into our hands. His coming again, and which we are not to fold up as a napkin of implicit faith. That our reason is to be used in matters belonging to religion he thinks evident from the command of Jesus to search the Scriptures. The distinction is made to our reason, which in itself implies that we have the capacity to understand and interpret the sacred text. There are, indeed, many things in the Scriptures which are beyond reason, but none contrary to it. In one place, Hobbes excludes the worship of God from those things which are known by reason; but in another place he says that

rational, sensible, and prophetic, corresponding to right reason, supernatural sense, and faith. Revelation here means what is revealed immediately to oneself. But as this supernatural revelation is exceptional, the kingdom of God therefore consists mainly of the *natural* and the *prophetic*,—what we know by reason and what we know from the Scriptures. The Bible is the word of God as well as right reason, for God speaks to us in the sacred books. We do not know that they are the word, but all true Christians believe they are, and the ground of this belief is the authority of the *Commonwealth*, which is identical with the *Church*. The sovereign power has determined which are the canonical books. Hobbes devotes a chapter of the 'Leviathan' to the Holy Scriptures, which is interesting as one of the first English essays on the criticism of the Bible. He brings forward the usual arguments from 'the five Books of Moses' to show that they were not *written* by Moses. He reckons that the Book of Joshua was not written till long after the time of Joshua; the Books of Judge, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, not till long after the Captivity. The writers of the New Testament lived all in less than an age after Christ's ascension, and had all seen Christ, and been His disciples, excepting only St. Paul and St. Luke. Some time had passed before the books were collected into one volume, and recommended to us by the governors of the Church as the writings of the persons whose names they bear. The great doctors of the Church did not scruple at such frauds as tended to make the people more pious, yet there is great reason to believe that they did not corrupt the Bible. Hobbes' view of inspiration might pass for orthodox, if it implied infallibility, which, however, it does not. 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God,' he calls an evident metaphor to signify that 'God inclined the spirit or mind of the writers to write that which should be useful in teaching, reproofing, correcting, and instructing men in the way of righteous living.' The holy men of old who were moved by the Holy Spirit had supernatural revelations. A prophet

CH.

Criticism
the Old
Testament

CHAP. VI. was necessary to use natural reason to discern the

How a prophet was to be known.

the false prophets. In the Old Testament his doctrine required to be conformable to what was taught by the sovereign prophet; in the New, it was to be agreeable with the confession that *Jesus is the Christ*. The truth of a prophet's utterance was always to be determined by the consent of the people; that is, God's vicegerent on earth. According to these views of inspiration and prophecy, it was said that when a man has wisdom and understanding, and affections for what is good, he has God's Spirit within him. If the affections are evil, there is the presence of a false spirit; those who are thus possessed are called *demoniacs*.

On miracles.

The doctrine of miracles taught in the 'Leviathan' was out being unorthodox, in some respects anticipated by modern criticism. A miracle is a *sign*, a *wonder*, a *strange event*. When we know the cause, or when a wonderful event becomes familiar to us, it ceases to be a miracle. Men often err and rant take many things for supernatural, such as the rising of the sun and moon. Yet there are genuine *miracles*, immediate works of God, besides or beyond the ordinary operations in the world of nature as known to us. Miracles God works for an end; that is, for the benefit of the *elect*. They are not intended to convince the unbelieving, such as Pharaoh, or the men of Galilee, in whose hearts Jesus *would not* work miracles. Their object was to convince the Church such as should be saved—such as the *elect* to eternal life. Miracles made manifest the mercy of an extraordinary ministry for the *elect*. Hobbes' doctrine of the Trinity is the most startling of the theological heresies. Person he explains by meaning as one who acts a part. God, who is one and the same, was first represented by Moses, then by the incarnate Son, and last of all by the Apostles. As represented by the Apostles, the Holy Spirit by which we are saved is God; as represented by His Son, who is God, the Son is that God; as represented by Moses and the Priests, the Father—that is to say, the Father.

could also be three persons. The explanation of the Atone- CH
ment is more than usually rational. Man had sinned, and was liable to a penalty. God was pleased to accept a ransom, not, however, as a satisfaction for sin equivalent to the offence. In the Old Testament He gave pardon on the condition of offering sacrifices of bulls and goats. Under the new dispensation, the sacrifice of Christ has redeemed us; 'not that the death of one man, though without sin, could satisfy for the offence of all men in the matter of justice, but in the mercy of God, who has ordained such sacrifices for sin as He is pleased to accept.'

But in Hobbes' rationalism the most strange of all is his disbelief of an endless punishment of the wicked. After he has denied that we are judges of what is just with God, after he has maintained that God's right over us is His omnipotence alone, and that He has determined, irrespective of our wills and characters, who are to be saved and who are not to be saved, yet on the ground of its inconsistency with the mercy of God, he denies that the sufferings of the wicked can be never-ending. Eternal they may be in the sense of sufferings in the eternal world; but though the fire be unquenchable, and the torments everlasting, yet it cannot be inferred from Scripture that the persons cast into the torments shall suffer eternally. On the contrary, death and the grave shall be cast into the lake of fire, which is the second death. There will be a final restitution, and no more going to hades or the grave.

Hobbes had explained *angels* as images in the imagination, which signified the presence of God in the execution of a supernatural work. On the same principle he explains that Satan, the Devil, and Abaddon do not set forth any individual person. They are not proper names, but appellations, and ought not to have been left untranslated, as they are in the Latin and in our modern Bibles. What is said in the Scriptures concerning hell is metaphor. It is called Hades, or the place where men cannot see,—*infernus*, or *under ground*. The simple idea of the dark grave became, indefinitely, a

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Isaiah, concerning the King of Babylon, 'Hell to meet thee, and will displace *the giants for thee*. sion to the destruction of the cities of the plain, the lake of fire. The Egyptians were in darkness: children of Israel had light in their dwellings: *outer darkness* without the habitation of God's elect. Jerusalem was the valley of the children of *Hinnom* of which is called Tophet, where the old Pagans sacrificed their children to Moloch, and where the Jews cast 'filth and garbage' of Jerusalem to be burnt. From thence they called the place of the damned or the Valley of Hinnom, the word now usually *hell*. Hobbes thinks that after the Resurrection this place for the punishment of God's enemies will be the earth.

Deliverance
from sin.

Salvation is deliverance from sin, which is all our deliverance from misery. It is to be secured absolutely from all evils, including want, sickness, and death. The Kingdom of God does not exist now. This is but the *regeneration* preparation for the coming of the Son of Man. When He comes He shall be King over all the earth, the giver, the eternal Sovereign who shall give light and joy to His people for ever and ever. We need not go to another region of the universe to realize the Kingdom of the redeemed. The tabernacle of God shall be on earth. The New Jerusalem, with its glorious temple, shall come down from God out of heaven. Christ shall reign with His saints. There shall be a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. The dreams, as we have seen, of the millenarian were sound reasoning to the intellect of Thomas Hobbes.

Hobbes hung dead weights to the wings of his philosophy. He laid no restraint on his own. He was willing to sacrifice to the State, or to retract what he had written, but he had completed the cycle of human thought. He was within the limits he prescribed for others, he was not. He had been classed with deists and unbelievers.

Hobbes hated metaphysics as he hated ghosts, devils, and darkness.* He drew up articles of natural theology, giving a secondary place to that knowledge of religion which we have on the authority of another person. That there is a God he holds to be an inevitable result of the exercise of reason. 'Curiosity,' he says, 'or love of the knowledge of causes, draws on man from the consideration of the effect to seek the cause, and again the cause of that cause, till of necessity he must come to this thought at last, that there is some cause whereof there is no former cause, but is eternal; which is it men call God. So that it is impossible to make any profound inquiry into natural causes without being inclined thereby to believe there is one God eternal, though they cannot have any idea of Him in their mind answerable to His nature. For as a man that is born blind, hearing men talk of warming themselves by the fire, and being brought to warm himself by the same, may easily conceive and assure himself that there is somewhat which men call fire, and is the cause of the heat he feels, but cannot imagine what it is like, nor have an idea of it in his mind, such as they have that see it; so also by the visible things in the world, and their admirable order, a man may conceive there is a cause of them, which men call God, yet not have any idea or image of Him in his mind.'

One of the chapters in the 'Leviathan' is on the Kingdom of the God of Nature. In this Hobbes describes the worship of God taught us by the light of nature. We must attribute to God *existence*. We must speak of Him as the cause of the world, not as identical with it. The world being caused, cannot be eternal. We must regard Him as caring for us and loving us. We must not say that He is finite; that He has form; or that we have an *image* of Him in our minds. We must not ascribe parts to Him, nor limit Him by place. We must not say He moves, or that He rests, nor ascribe to Him passions—as repentance, anger,

* Hobbes had a great terror of the passage in his sermon on 'The Terribleness of the dark. He ascribes his errors of Conscience,' a passage by no means unimportant to the circumstances of his life.

CHAP. VI. mercy. We should speak of Him as the Infinite, the

the Incomprehensible. There is but one name for our conception of his nature, and that is, I Am. We pray to Him, and offer thanksgiving. We should speak worthily of Him, and above all things *keep for this is the greatest worship of all.*

God not personal,

In denying God passions and affections, Hobbes relates that personality which, from the limitations of our minds, we are necessitated, in a greater or less degree, to ascribe to the Divine Being. He said that we can have no *idea* of God. By this he meant image. All our images are of things finite. God is being infinite, not contrary, or the negative, of the finite. God, as we conceive Him, does not exist. It is better to acknowledge Him to be incomprehensible than to attempt to comprehend His nature. Following this principle, Hobbes objected to the terms by which we try to express our thoughts of God, and the world which lies beyond the sensible.

Nor incorporeal.

finite. '*Incorporeal spirit,*' '*immaterial substance,*' '*now,*' and all such phrases, he pronounced meaningless on the same reason he ought to have rejected *infinite,* '*eternal,*' and many other terms with which he was so easily dispense. He was, however, entitled to use them according to his own definitions so long as he made them intelligible. But if God is not spirit *incorporeal* or substance immaterial, He is the opposite of these, a corporeal body or material substance. In other words, if He is body, or matter, or substance, taking these three terms synonymous; nor does Hobbes shrink from this position. He reasons that God must be corporeal, for whatever is not body is nothing. The universe consists of substances and accidents, but in accidents there is no real existence. Corporeal is the only real existence. Spirit is but another form, '*thin, fluid, transparent, invisible.*' The most pure, most simple '*corporeal spirit.*' It was that in this Hobbes identified God and the universe. *Incarnations* was denied, on the ground that God was

danger of its trespassing on the domain of the spiritual. CHA Every effort to confine the human mind to the phenomenal has been a failure, and every such effort must be a failure to the end of time. Hobbes set aside the Greek philosophers with a sneer. For the Schoolmen he had not even that. Their phraseology he pronounced as unintelligible as the subjects of which they discoursed were incomprehensible; and yet he is compelled to treat of the same subjects, and sometimes to adopt the terms which he pronounces meaningless. Honestly, if unconsciously, he followed where reason led him. He was confessedly a man of limited reading. He flung it in the face of one of his opponents, that if he had read as many books as some people, he would have been as stupid as they were. He fell back on the resources of his own mind, and reached conclusions which seemed original. It does not appear to have occurred to him, nor to any of those who replied to him, that in teaching this doctrine of the consubstantiality of mind and matter, body and spirit, he was simply reviving the theology of the ancient Stoics. The identity of body and spirit, the division of the all of being into God and the universe, was but an enunciation of the one substance of Spinoza, the 'nature producing' and 'nature produced.' Hobbes reached his conclusion by the same vigorous and independent reasoning as Spinoza did. Indeed, it is the only conclusion to which reason can legitimately come—the only conclusion to which any philosophy worthy of the name has come. We may distinguish between the Stoics, the Platonists, the Eleatics, the Ionics, and the Italics; but on the great question of *being*, which was primarily the subject of all their speculations, the difference is one of words—a question of the meaning of *matter*, *substance*, *idea*, *essence*, *corporeal spirit*, and *spiritual body*. The co
stantia
mind
matter

Hobbes may not have had many followers—that is, not many who agreed with all he said—but he had many readers, and many who admired even when they did not follow. The poet Cowley wrote :

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I never yet the living soul could see

But in thy books and thee.

'Tis only God can know

Whether the fair ideal thou dost show

Agree entirely with His own or no.

This I dare boldly tell,

'Tis so like truth 'twill serve our turn as well ;

Just as in nature thy proportions be

As full of concord their variety.

As firm their parts upon their centre rest,

And all so solid as that they at least,

As much as nature, emptiness detest.'

Lord Clarendon
replies to
Hobbes.

But Hobbes had opponents as well as admirers. 'Leviathan,' says Bishop Warburton, made the people of Malmesbury 'the terror of that age.' It was a long list to mention even the names of those who took to destroy the monster. Among them the earl, two archbishops, five bishops, several members of colleges, a Boyle lecturer, many doctors of divinity, and country parsons without number. 'I hooked into his nose, and cast an angle into his jaw,' says one of the last, with the bravery characteristic of the age when about to slay a monster of heresy. The earl, Edward Hyde, the loyal and faithful, but unfortunate Clarendon. He wrote from his exile 'A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline,' which he dedicated to Charles II. In the preface he assures the king of his unshaken fidelity, and his 'abhorrence of the false and evil doctrine of Mr. Hobbes, *that a banished subject during his banishment is no subject*.' The 'Survey' had for a frontispiece Andromeda chained to the rock, with the sea monster about to devour her. Hercules, appearing on his winged Pegasus, with a Gorgon's head in one hand and a javelin in the other, destroys the monster and liberates the virgin. So Clarendon, the defender of the faith against the monsters, harpoons the 'Leviathan,' that religiously stately goddess, might walk in beauty freed from superstition and from fears. Clarendon was ready to admit that there were many good things well said in Hobbes' 'Leviathan.'

to which he may resort to prove somewhat, which men do not think of when they read the definitions.' He protested against Hobbes' dark view of human nature, and the more rationalistic of his religious doctrines. He maintained his own orthodoxy by approving the mode of receiving the mysteries of faith illustrated by the *pills*. He charges Hobbes with ignorance of the English monarchy and its history; with a misapprehension of the nature of laws, as well as of the actual laws of this realm. It is only on this subject that Clarendon's opinion is worth knowing, for law was his profession. The chief interest attaching to the 'Survey' is the repeated charge that Hobbes was furthering the interests of Cromwell.* The passages which Clarendon quotes in proof of this are very obscure, if this was their object. Cromwell must have had keen eyes to see, in what Hobbes said of the right of the sovereign to name his successor, an intimation that he should arrange for the succession of his son Richard. He might have found himself described in a later work 'as the single tyrant who occupied England, Scotland, and Ireland, and turned to mockery the democratic wisdom as well of their laymen as of their ecclesiastics.' He might have read that in the civil war, 'not bishops only, but king, law, religion, honesty, having been cast down,—perfidy, murder, all the foulest wickedness (covered, however, with hypocrisy), held sway in the land.' Indeed, Hobbes never misses an opportunity of denouncing

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* Clarendon seems to have been the inventor of this. Bishop Burnet calls the 'Leviathan' 'a very wicked book with a strange title,' and says that Hobbes 'wrote it at first in favour of absolute monarchy, but turned it afterwards to gratify the republican party. These were his true principles, though he had disguised them for deceiving unwary readers.' Dr. Whewell says that the face of the figure in the frontispiece of the 'Leviathan' has a manifest reference to Cromwell, but in a copy belonging to Trinity College library, the face ap-

the one is surmounted by a handsome face resembling, though not strikingly, the portraits of Charles I. The other face has the same crown, but is broader and coarser featured, like Cromwell, but not strikingly so—about as like his portrait by Cooper, as the former is like Charles by Vandyke. But the faces are in different types, the former high featured, and what may be called Norman, the latter flattened, with broad nostrils, and more of the bourgeois or Saxon type. The Cromwell plate is much brighter and more distinct than the supposed

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Archbishop
Tenison re-
plies to
Hobbes.

all that was done in England in the days of Cromwell the 'Behemoth' the Parliament men are pictured as rebels, fanatics, and hypocrites; and yet Clarendon see in Hobbes a concealed enemy of the Church and king.

One of the earliest works of Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, was called 'The Creation of Hobbes examined in a feigned Conference between a Student in Divinity.' Tenison had just been presented by the Duke of Manchester to the rectory of St. Ives, Hunts. This little book, dedicated to his patron, was the first fruits of his leisure. It is probably the most sensible reply that was made to Hobbes. It affords ample evidence that Tenison was worthy of the patronage, and fair promise that one day he might become a bishop. Tenison had the same advantage over Hobbes in philosophy that Clarendon had over him in law. He was well read in Plato and the Greek philosophers. He knew or not they meant by 'incorporeal spirit' what we mean by 'corporeal spirit' may be an open question. But when they did speak of *incorporeal* existences, and attach a definite meaning to the term, is not to be disputed. Tenison showed that if Hobbes had been at all acquainted with the Platonic use of the word *idea*, he would never have founded it with *image*. It is 'an argument of a want of mind' to say that we have no conception without an image. 'Plato has contended for a knowledge above the ken of fancy, and has taught us that the most and most glorious objects have no image attending their conception. And Clemens Alexandrinus told the Christians that the Christians had not any sensible image of God in their Divine worship, but that they had a clear *idea* of the only sovereign God.' Tenison, knowing that the doctrine of the Stoics concerning substance might be reconciled with that of the Platonists, urged Hobbes that if God was corporeal, then He would be identical with the world, and so the world might be

be parts of God. Hobbes quoted Tertullian and the Greek Fathers to show that by body they meant *essence*; and as neither Hobbes nor Tenison could explain it further, Hobbes said he knew *that God is*, but he did not know *what He is*. To this Tenison sagely replied, 'Ye worship ye know not what.' Hobbes, not content with saying we could not know the essence of the Deity, leaving spirit and body as names for quantity or quantities unknown, carried this doctrine of human incapacity into the domain of the moral attributes, denying that human reason can judge of God's doings, and maintaining that that may be just in God which is not just in us, for *a thing is made just by God's doing it*. To which Tenison triumphantly replied that the reason of mankind must be the eternal and universal standard, since God Himself had appealed to it as the judge of His justice and righteous dealing. 'Are not my ways equal, and yours unequal?' 'Judge between me and my vineyard, O house of Israel.' Tenison also combated Hobbes' favourite tenet of the absolute supremacy of the sovereign in religion. The doctrine, he said, was derived from the Pagans. The laws of their country determined what gods should be worshipped. In the 'twelve tables' it was forbidden that any man should have a personal religion. The Gospel, on the other hand, required men no longer to worship the national gods, but only the true God as revealed by Jesus Christ. Tenison said that Hobbes got the doctrine of the 'Leviathan' from the oration of Euphemus in Thucydides, where the orator says, 'Now, to a tyrant or city that reigneth, nothing can be thought absurd if profitable.' It is *possible* Hobbes may have found it here, but that was going a long way for it.

John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, was one of Hobbes' most determined adversaries. He was an able man, though somewhat rude and vehement, a fervent advocate of Episcopacy and the Stuarts, especially King Charles II. of *blessed memory*. He had long discussions with Hobbes on necessity, which need not trouble any one. Neither of them on either side said

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the bishop answered that every man feels and knows he has power to will. When the 'Leviathan' appeared, the Bishop of Derry could not resist the temptation to cast his line into the sea that he might entangle the Leviathan. He wrote a treatise called 'The Catching of the Leviathan' and with a great deal of pleasantry which is very becoming in a man of episcopal dignity, he threatened to pierce to its existence by three harping-irons: one for its back, the second for its chin, and a third for its head,—the back for the political, and the rational parts. Yet the bishop confessed that he was only fighting with a shadow. "Leviathan" was a mere phantasm of Mr. Hobbes' fancy. It was neither flesh nor fish, but a compound of a man and a whale engendered in his own brains, a Dagon, the idol of the Philistines, a mixture of a god, a man, and a fish.' In fact, the great marine bête was mortal god, was Thomas Hobbes himself.

The theology of the 'Leviathan,' according to Thomas Hobbes, was 'atheistical.' By making God corporeal, it denied His existence; by saying that He is not *wholly* in every place, it deprived Him of ubiquity; and by making eternity co-existent to endless duration, it reduced Him to the condition of a finite existence, 'older to-day than He was yesterday.' Hobbes' answers were not much wiser than his objections. He said that if God was *all* in one place, it would imply that He was excluded from other places. He railed against the Schoolmen, who made eternity *everlasting now*, and who, instead of saying God is true, and eternal, called him justice, truth, and goodness. The use of these terms is not *atheistical*, as Hobbes imagined, neither is there any necessary heresy in the denial of them. Bramhall, who had considerable learning, and was a tolerable theologian, protested manfully against this depraved view of human nature set forth in the 'Leviathan.'

He ended his treatise with a recommendation that the king should try his form of government in America. If it succeeded among the savages, he might transplant it to the

jects might tear their *mortal god* in pieces with their teeth, and entomb his sovereignty in their bowels.' Hobbes, who could be cool as well as severe, wrote an answer to the 'Catching' ten years after it was published, saying that he had only heard of it about three months since, *so little talk was there of his lordship's writings.*

The Boyle lecturer was Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's, Westminster. He classed Hobbes with Spinoza. For this classification there were some grounds. Hobbes agreed with Spinoza as to the consubstantiality of body and spirit. Spinoza, indeed, denied that God was a body, but then he explained that by *body* he meant that which has figure and dimensions, as length and breadth—that is, he denied that God was anything finite. Hobbes agreed, too, with Spinoza on necessity, and that the right of every man by nature depends on his might. On such questions as the nature of eternity Spinoza agreed rather with the Schoolmen, or we may say the old philosophers. Clarke chiefly combated the doctrine of necessity. One lecture, however, is almost entirely devoted to the consideration of law, in which Clarke shows that Hobbes frequently contradicts himself; sometimes maintaining that there is right and wrong in the nature of things, and at other times declaring right and wrong to depend on the will of the sovereign.

Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, wrote, as a sequel to a Latin work, an English one,* called 'A Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and of the Christian Religion.' The bishop gives a woeful picture of the viciousness and profanity, infidelity and atheism, of his age. Even the common people set up for sceptics, and defended their

* Bishop Burnet speaks of Parker as 'a man of little virtue, and, as to religion, rather impious. He was originally an Independent, but after his conversion to Episcopacy he for some years entertained the nation with several virulent books, till he was attacked by the liveliest droll of the age (Andrew Marvell), who wrote

bled Parker, but his whole party.' He was at one time so far on Hobbes' side that he said the King was not under God and Christ, but under God and above Christ. According to Burnet, the second James made him a bishop to help on the ruin of the Church. Macaulay says 'the bishopric of Oxford was given to Samuel

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Samuel
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Produces arguments in proof of the divine origin of Christianity.

sins as harmless actions. The bishop said that pursuit of truth, and would not be jostled out of 'not by Thomas Hobbes *nor an angel from heaven.* monstration of the laws of nature was mostly taken from Bishop Cumberland. The second part, on the authority of the Christian religion, was original. By careful study of the bishop, we may find out that there is a future life, rewards and punishments. But revelation has made these things evident. The grounds of the Christian religion are reckoned to be so convincing that they must enforce themselves. He called the 'Leviathan' 'a foolish book, by the reason that which those who were by nature sufficient dunces called themselves philosophers.' The 'poor village curate' is to be a trophy to the arguments of the forward youth who has read the "Leviathan." The bishop threatens to punish their infidelity with such a heap of absurdities as will ever dash their confidence and disarm their impious objections. The Apostles, he goes on to say, laid down their lives in defence of what they had seen. It was impossible for them to should agree to deceive the world. The books of the Old Testament were written by the persons whose names they bear. The writers were sincere and impartial. The history, too, agrees with sacred. Josephus has a true account of Jesus. Phlegon speaks of an eclipse of the sun at the time of the crucifixion. Tiberius, according to Tacitus, believed in the divinity of Jesus Christ, and was obliged by the Senate of Rome publicly to acknowledge it. Pontius Pilate wrote 'The Acts of Pilate' for Tiberius. Justin Martyr appeals to them, and surely he knew better about their veracity than Casaubon, and some other modern scholars. They have had the boldness to doubt that they were written by Pilate. Agbarus, the King of Edessa, wrote a letter to Jesus, inviting Him to come and cure him of some disease. To this letter Jesus wrote a *brief and pithy answer.* The *Therapeutæ* mentioned by Philo were Christians, as Scaliger may say to the contrary. Justin Martyr

clergy could work the same miracles as the Apostles. They could cast out devils, foretell things to come, cure the sick by imposition of hands, and even raise the dead. The Roman Emperors confessed the supernatural power of the Christians. Marcus Aurelius was witness to the rain and thunder and lightning that came down on their enemies in answer to the prayers of the 'thundering legion;' and this is saying nothing of the multitude of miracles mentioned by Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Ignatius, and St. Augustine. If the 'poor village curate' fell a victim to those who read the 'Leviathan,' it was his own blame. He ought to have known the valuable evidence from Christian antiquity provided for him by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Some of the small writers who made sport with the 'Leviathan' have not even left their names to posterity, and of what they wrote the British Museum has only been able to treasure up a few fragments. 'The True Effigies of the Monster of Malmesbury in his Proper Colours,' has only the six pages 'To the reader.' Cowley's verses to Hobbes were vilely parodied after his death. 'The Last Sayings of Thomas Hobbes,' consisting of startling passages from the 'Leviathan,' were cried through the streets after the fashion of the dying words of Baxter and Bunyan. Wits wrote elegies and epitaphs,* while religious visionaries saw Hobbes writhing in hell like Dante's monsters, half suffocated in sulphur.† 'The "Leviathan" found out; or, An Answer

* One elegy gives what we may suppose to have been the general estimate of Hobbes:—

'He with such art deceived, that none
can say,
If his be errors, where his errors
lay;
If he mistakes, 'tis still with so much
wit.
He errs more pleasingly than others
hit.'

To this elegy is appended an epitaph which is too coarse to be quoted here. This is the last verse:—

'In fine, after a thousand shams and

Aliud.

'Here lies Tom Hobbes, the bugbear
of the nation,
Whose death has frightened atheism
out of fashion.'

† The following is from 'Visions of Hell,' ascribed to John Bunyan:—
'Epenetus.—I had no sooner spoke, but one of the tormented wretches cries out, with a sad, mourning accent. Sure I should know that voice. It must be Epenetus. I was amazed to hear my name mentioned by one of the infernal crew; and therefore,

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—

to Mr. Hobbes' "Leviathan," in that which my Lord
 rendon hath passed over,' was written by John W
 of the Inner Temple, barrister-at-law. But the
 had nothing to say which had not already been be
 by others. One of the best pieces against Hobbes
 tract, the copy of which in the British Museum v
 title-page. The writer undertook to show from '*My
 own principles*, that the notions of laws of right an
 just and unjust, good and evil, are independent u
 naturally and rationally antecedent to, the consti
 any commonwealth.'

William Pike,
 Alexander
 Ross, and Dr.
 Eachard on
 the 'Levia-
 than.'

William Pike, a clergyman, wrote 'Examinations, (and Confutations' of 'the Strange Man' and 'his Book.' Alexander Ross* wrote 'Leviathan drawn o Hook.' He likened himself to young David encounte liath when the armies of Israel had been frightene vast bulk of his body, and the dimensions of his spea mour, and his bragging and defying words. 'Th had been afraid to bridle Mr. Hobbes his "Lev but the spiritual shepherd, the least of the tribe little in his own eyes,' would show that the *brute* w terrible that people should be cast down even at of him. John Eachard, D.D., wrote 'Dialogues Philautus and Timothy;' that is, himself and Hobbe

known replied: I was once well acquainted with you upon earth, and had almost persuaded you to be of my opinion. I am the author of that celebrated book, so well known by the title of "Leviathan."

'*Epenetus*.—What, the great Hobbes! said I. Are you come hither? Your voice is so much changed, I did not know it.

'*Hobbes*.—Alas! replied he, I am that unhappy man indeed. But am so far from being great, that I am one of the most wretched persons in all these sooty territories. Nor is it any wonder that my voice is changed, for I am now changed in my principles, though changed too late to do

was His foe on earth, and mine in hell. . . .

'*Hobbes*.—Oh, that I could feel no fire! How easy torments be to that which them! But oh, alas! they endure ten thousand times culinary fire in fierceness.

* Immortalized in 'Hu

'There was an ancient spher
 That had read *Alexander*
 And swore the world,
 prove,
 Was made from fighting
 love.'

were dedicated to Gilbert, Archbishop of Canterbury (Sheldon), and were intended to be clever. One of them begins by Philautus asking Timothy if he had not hanged himself yet. The archbishop and his chaplain saw only food for pastime in the great 'Leviathan;' but they could not play with him as with a bird, nor, as companions, make a banquet of him.*

Hobbes, we have already said, had not many disciples. The beneficial influence of the 'Leviathan' was in the opposition which it raised. The principle of authority was put so nakedly, as if its refutation had been intended by merely showing that it was impracticable and absurd. That religion and morality had no origin but in the civil ruler seemed a picture drawn to make the Pisos laugh. Could Hobbes really mean—

'Ut turpiter atrum,

Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne?'

In his theory of a commonwealth, it is easy to see that there was some meaning in the authority which he gave to the sovereign. The doctrine was not a new one in England. The Reformers clung to a form of it under Henry and Elizabeth. With the power of the Papacy ever threatening to disturb the civil government, it was not remarkable that men should have made high claims for the absolute sovereignty of the ruler of the State. Hobbes' doctrine, looked at politically, had a meaning. But looking at it as to the real foundation either of religion or of virtue, it is doubtful if he really meant what he seems to mean. It is difficult on this subject to reconcile Hobbes with himself. He acknow-

* Benjamin Laney, Bishop of Ely, also wrote against Hobbes on the question of necessity; and Seth Ward, Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, wrote, 'In Thomæ Hobbes Philosophicam Exercitatio Epistolica,' in which he controverted all the doctrines of the 'Leviathan,' metaphysical and physical, political and theological. But the most contemporary of

Whewell says of Hobbes' writings on this subject, that they are full of the 'most extravagant arrogance, ignorance, and dogmatism which can be imagined.' To the list of Hobbes' adversaries we may add Sir Robert Filmer, Daniel Scargill, Dr. Sharrock, Dr. John Templar, Mr. Shafto, Robert Boyle, George Lawson, Richard Baxter, Bishop Lucy, and Herbert

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CHAP. VI. ledged that there were natural laws, unchangeable and eternal. He said expressly that what *they forbade* be lawful, nor what *they command* be unlawful. At the establishment of the Commonwealth there existed according to his definition of law ; but he admitted that we generally understand by the laws of right what existed before all, and independent of all, commands. However this may be settled, it is certain that he ascribed to his grotesque monster a power to make what was wrong, and to dictate both religion and laws to the people. This position, even as laid down by Hobbes himself, was to leave no other foundation for either religion or morality than the will of the sovereign.

Hobbes contradicts his own doctrine by acknowledging laws natural, immutable, and eternal.

The Cambridge Platonists.

We shall be better able to understand the position of the Cambridge Platonists,* the chief Rationalists of the seventeenth century, if we remember that the occasion of many of their objections was their opposition to this doctrine. Their object was to found religion and morality not on anything transient or contingent, but on principles immutable and eternal. Dr. Cudworth's great work, the 'Intellectual System of the Universe,' was intended for a refutation of the supposed atheism of Hobbes and his ' Leviathan.' The doctrine of necessity or fatalism was not only atheistic in itself, but subver-

* Baxter divides the Conformists into three kinds, the Conformists proper, some of the old ministers formerly called Presbyterians, and the Latitudinarians. The conforming Presbyterians were mostly, according to Baxter's account, very able and worthy men, who conformed and subscribed upon this inducement, that the bishop bade them do it in their own sense. The Latitudinarians were mostly Cambridge men, Platonists, or Cartesians, and many of them Arminians, with some additions, having more charitable thoughts than others of the salvation of heathens and infidels, and some of them holding the opinions of Origen, about the pre-ex-

istence of these, some (with Dr. Burnet, a leader) lived privately and sought not any preferment in the world, and others sought to rise. These two (the Presbyterians and Platonists) were the preachers, and were the Conformists, though their doctrine was theirs, and their profits were used, by God's providence, for the refreshment of the public interest of the church. — *Relig. Bax.*

Bishop Burnet, in the preface to his own *Times*, says that the Latitudinarians were called so for their more liberal and narrower thoughts, and more moderate tempers.' He adds, that the

gion and morality. The 'Intellectual System of the Universe' CH was left unfinished. Hobbes had been dealt with in common with the old philosophers of the school of Epicurus and Democritus, and only on the one point of fatalism. Many years after Cudworth's death there was found among his manuscripts 'A Treatise concerning Eternal and Immuta- On im and et moral- ble Morality.' Bishop Chandler, who edited this treatise, supposes that the substance of it was intended for the 'Intellectual System,' but that Cudworth, despairing of being able to complete his great work, hastened to treat of the most material points in small volumes. This treatise is regarded as a sequel to the first book of the 'Intellectual System' against 'material fate.' Chandler regrets it had not been published earlier, that it might have served as 'an antidote to the poison of the writings of Hobbes and some others who revived in that age the exploded opinions of Protagoras and other ancient Greeks, and took away the essential and eternal discrimination of moral good and evil, of just and unjust, and made them all *arbitrary productions of divine or human will.*'

Cudworth's treatise, being directed against some of the ancient as well as the modern deniers of eternal and immutable morality, is necessarily historical as well as controversial. Plato, in the tenth book of the 'Laws,' speaks of men who said that nothing was naturally just. A thing was made just by arts and laws, not by any nature of its own. In the 'Theætetus' he speaks of the Protagoreans, who held that just and unjust, holy and unholy, depended on the authority of the city. Aristotle, too, in his 'Ethics' speaks of things honest and just not by nature, but only by law. He divides that which is 'politically just' into the 'natural' and the 'legal,' the one having everywhere the same force, the other being indifferent till it is determined by positive law. He adds that some think there is 'no other just or unjust' but what is made by 'law and men,' for 'things right and just are everywhere different.' Diogenes Laertius says of Archelaus, that he held just and dishonest 'not to be so

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The ancient
Sceptics said
that morality
was made by
the State.

death of Clitus, whom he had rashly slain, Anaxarchus fortified him with the doctrine that kings could do no wrong for 'whatever is done by the supreme power is right.' Pyrrho, the father of the Sceptics and the founder of the Academy, was certain only of this, 'that there is no good or shameful, just or unjust,' but 'that men do what is right according to law or custom.' Epicurus made all morality depend on the mutual contracts that were made in society. This, also, according to Lactantius, was the doctrine of Carneades, the founder of the new academy. Cudworth finds the doctrine of these philosophers totally at variance with that of Hobbes. He includes under the same condemnation another doctrine allied to it, but set forth by the theologians who pass for orthodox. Some, he says, pretend, not only seriously but earnestly, that there is no good on earth, just or unjust, but by the arbitrary will and pleasure of God. This doctrine, Cudworth says, is abhorrent to the ancient Fathers, but it is found in the writings of the Scholastics. Ockham says that there is no act evil which is not prohibited by God, and which can be made good by the command of God. Cudworth quotes, from the writings of many Calvinists, such sentiments as that God may command what is contrary to all the precepts of the law, and that holiness is not conformity with the nature of things, but that God can with justice condemn the innocent to everlasting torments. Against Epicureans, Hobbists, and such, Cudworth is to prove that there is 'something naturally and immutably good and just.'

Things are what they are, not by will but by nature. It does not depend on will, either divine or human, that white is white, or that round is round. Omnipotence cannot make white or round without the nature of things, the ties of whiteness or rotundity. The nature of a thing must be present to constitute a thing that which it is. The will of God may be the efficient cause, but the form cannot be. Everything must be immutably determined by its own nature. Things are what they are, not by will but by nature.

these principles, Cudworth observes that laws or commands do not take the form of making what they command just, but only of enforcing it as just. This is true of the commands of God, as well as of the laws made by men. The divine will, no more than the human, can make that obligatory which is not obligatory in itself. Descartes thought it necessary to the idea of Divine omnipotence that all essences and natures be regarded as being what they are by the will of God. It is by that will, he said, that good is good and evil is evil. It is by that will that two and two make four, and that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. Cudworth said that the will of God could not have made these things otherwise than they are. If this were possible, science and demonstration would be impossible, for then truth and falsehood would only be names, and not realities. Even God's knowledge would be uncertain if it depended on the mutability of a will essentially indifferent and undetermined. To speak correctly, God, according to this hypothesis, would not be wise by wisdom, but by will. It was objected to Cudworth that his doctrine supposed the existence of natures and essences independent of God. He denied that this consequence followed. It only supposed an eternal and immutable wisdom in the mind of God, and that independently of the divine will the whole rational creation participated in this wisdom. This wisdom is God; and from the very nature of wisdom, it must be the rule and measure of the divine will. It was the opinion of some of the wisest philosophers, Cudworth says, that there is also in the scale of being a nature of goodness above wisdom, which is the measure of wisdom, as wisdom is of will. The idea of God is by some restricted to will and power, but Cudworth prefers a mystical representation, which compares the divine nature to a circle. The circle is infinite. Its inmost centre is simple goodness. The rays and expanded area are the all-comprehending and immutable wisdom. The exterior periphery is the omnipotent will or activity by which everything without God is brought

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CHAP. VI.

The sceptical
moralists
among the an-
cients were
also sceptical
as to being.

The old philosophers who denied the immutability of right and wrong, were generally those who denied the reality of any essence. They were sceptics. The principal of these was Protagoras. His doctrine, according to Plato, was that 'nothing is absolutely, but is always made so to the mind, and essence or being is to be removed from things.' As all things were made by motion and change, they were not properly said to *be*, because everything is always made, and that not absolutely, but in relation to something else. Protagoras himself applied this principle to moral essences as well as to physical ones. 'Theætetus' he is asked if he thought that 'good and honest, but is only made so.' He answered, 'whatsoever things seem to be good and just to the many, or commonwealth, the same are so to that city or country, and wealth so long as they seem so.' Protagoras, according to Plato, laid the foundation of his philosophy in this doctrine. Heraclitus, who taught a 'floating and moveable essence,' maintaining 'that nothing stood, but that all things were in a state of flux.' They were opposed by Parmenides and Zeno, who ran into the other extreme. Plato facetiously divided them into 'the flowing philosophers,' and the other 'the unflowing.' Protagoras went even beyond Heraclitus in denying the stability of existence. His scepticism reached not only to morals. He even asserted that heat and cold, colour, sight and sound had no real existence, but were only passions or sensations occasioned within the human mind by external objects. Protagoras' error lay in his making the human mind the criterion or judge of the external world. It is not by reason, but by reason, that we know there is anything outside of us. This was proved even by Democritus, who, in his philosophy Protagoras abused to scepticism. Democritus, according to Sextus Empiricus, said 'that there are two ways of knowledge, the one by the senses, the other by the mind. That by the mind he calls properly knowledge, and that which may be trusted for the judgment of truth.'

altogether independent of our minds. The essence of a triangle, a square, or a circle would remain the same though no created mind were to think of a triangle, a square, or a circle. These 'essences' or 'natures' are the 'thoughts' or 'reasons' of the divine mind. The truth of them is common to all rational beings, because all rational beings partake of the divine intellect. They cannot be altered by any will whatever. Plato accordingly distinguishes between a 'law' proper and a 'decree of the state.' A 'law' is the invention of that which *is*,—that which is absolutely just in its own nature. A 'decree of the state' may be unjust, but in a secondary sense it is also a law; for there is a natural and immutable justice which requires the observance of political order.

Cudworth wrote a discourse on the Lord's Supper, in which, as we might have expected from his other writings, there is nothing of that awful mystery which superstition has gathered round this simple ordinance. He avoids the unintelligible language retained by Archbishop Cranmer,—language which, if its real history were known, would probably be found connected with some incipient doctrine of transubstantiation. The Supper is supposed to have some analogy to the old sacrifices, but it is not considered in itself a sacrifice. The manner in which Cudworth treats this and some other subjects, indicates an entirely different mode of viewing Christianity from that which prevailed in the seventeenth century. It cannot be said that he does not teach distinctly all the doctrines of the Gospel as they are understood by the most orthodox. The peculiarity is in the treatment. Other preachers set a high estimate on the mere creed. Cudworth dwells more on the necessity of a Christian life. We know that we are Christians, not so much by our believing a creed, as by our keeping Christ's commandments. Christ was not a master of the school, but of the life. He did not come to give us dogmas about which we are to dispute and wrangle. He came to make our hearts beat towards heaven. True faith is not believing certain doctrines, but it is a living faith which is directed towards heaven.

CHAP. VI. belongs to Cudworth, though Henry More is usually
 Henry More. as their leader. More was a disciple of Plotinus
 of Plato. He was rational certainly, but he was
 cal; and, like Plotinus, he was deeply influenced
 superstitions of his age. He wrote more books
 the men with whom he was associated, but his
 have been greater had he written less. His work
 divided into three kinds—the philosophical, the
 and the ethical. The last we may pass by, as
 terest. The chief of the ‘philosophical’ are a
 against Atheism,’ and a treatise on the ‘Immortal
 Soul.’ The theological are fairly represented by
 tery of Godliness.’ With a theologian of More’s
 philosophical impinged on the theological. The
 between them was but imperfectly marked, if it
 more than imaginary. This was also true of
 which was but the practice of what was learned
 gions of philosophy and theology. The essential
 in which philosophy, theology, and ethics are one.
 Cicero said, ‘I will follow reason wherever it leads.’
 says that he adopted the same resolution, and a
 ‘priestly habiliments,’ he put on the ‘rational
 sacerdotal breastplate.’ It was to cover the heart
 cerity of which is the ‘the root or well-spring of
 est and purest reason.’ Aaron’s robes, according
 were a representation of the universe; which
 says, that every priest should endeavour to be
 man and a philosopher. This, indeed, was Philo’s
 pretation. He said that the high priest, when lo
 his attire, was reminded that he was not to say
 thing contrary to the laws of ‘Eternal Reason,’ w
 ‘everlasting High Priest.’ This High Priest is
 Logos. And of the Logos, Plotinus and the
 Clement declare that the human intellect is the im
 Logos is itself the image of God. To take a
 More says, is to despoil the priest of his breast
 Christianity is worse still, it is ‘to rob Christianity of that sp

Puts on reason
 as the ‘sacer-
 dotal breast-
 plate.’

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true, for, the light being renounced, all things are of one colour. But though reason be the oracle of God, it must be consulted in 'His holy temple.' That is to say, it must be reason sanctified, by which we are to be led. Aaron's breastplate included the Urim and the Thummim; that is, the purity and integrity of the will and the affections, as well as the light of the understanding. It is, as Plotinus said, the reason of 'a soul already purged' which is truly divine. This purification is necessary to have reason in its integrity. In itself, it is the voice of God; yea, it is God in us. The language of Aristotle was heavenly when he said, 'It is manifest that God is in the universe, and that all is in Him; for it is the same divinity which is in us that moves all things, and is the beginning of reason, but something which is better. What, then, can be better than knowledge, except God?'

More says in the beginning of the 'Antidote against Atheism,' that the reason why he undertakes to prove that there is a God is, because of the danger to which men were exposed in that transition period. Religion was more freely discussed than in former ages, and the recoil from superstition might lead men into the other extreme of Atheism. He explains that, though he uses the word demonstration, he does not mean that the existence of God can be so demonstrated as that a man's understanding will be forced to confess the truth of what he demonstrates. He does not believe that in this sense anything can be demonstrated. His arguments will only be such as deserve a full assent, and will win it from every unprejudiced mind. There are things altogether improbable, and yet we cannot prove that they are not true. But this improbability determines our belief, even when we cannot strictly prove. If any one were to say that Archimedes was now in the centre of the earth studying geometry, we could not disprove it, but it is so improbable that we would properly disbelieve it. And so with things which require assent. It is possible that the urns, coins, and anchors that have been found in the earth

Super
beget
ism.

CHAP. VI.

Man has an idea in his mind of *what* God is.

The properties of spirit as intelligible as those of body.

More next undertakes to prove that we have a *what* God is. Some men deny that God is, because they say they have no idea of what He is. But More says that before they can deny His existence, they must have an idea of what they are denying. He will offer them the idea of God as proper to Him as the idea of anything in the world is proper to that thing. God is an Essence or Substance, and absolutely perfect. This idea of God is in the mind of man. It is as much a property of the human mind as the idea of any truth in geometry. To separate the mind from these necessary and essential ideas is to separate them from their own existence. Some deny the being of God, because they cannot form an idea of 'spirit,' 'eternal,' or 'infinite.' More answers that if men will deny the existence of spirit because of the difficulty of conceiving an idea of it, they may also deny the existence of body. Who, he asks, can frame so safe a notion of a body as to free himself from the entanglements which the idea of extension brings with it? The nature of a spirit is as conceivable as the nature of a body, as easy of definition as any other nature. He is bound to say in philosophy who does not know that mere essence or substance, whether of bodies or of spirits, is utterly intelligible. But the essential or inseparable properties of spirit are as intelligible as those of a body. And as for 'eternal' and 'infinite,' every man is compelled to admit their existence. If God is not eternal, the universe at least is eternal. And no man can divest himself of the idea of infinity. It will cling to the soul as closely as the power of extension. Some suppose that these ideas, which More calls the essential properties of the mind, are created by the organs of sense. He admits that the first occasion of them is derived from external objects. But these are begetters than the implanters. There is innate knowledge, what More calls 'an actual knowledge,' or 'an actual idea.' The mind is awakened by the impulses of sense to objects. This is illustrated by a musician asleep. A sound awakes him, and desiring him to sing, he begins.

symmetry. When we say that there exists a Being absolutely perfect, the proof is the same in kind as we have for the existence of those things the ideas of which are properties of the mind. The existence of these things is direct natural light. If they do not exist, the alternative is that man is a being most mistaken when he thinks he knows a thing to be most evidently true. After discoursing of this indelible stamp of the Divine existence in our minds, More goes on to the argument from design. In all this he is rational; but before he ends he has a multitude of proofs from the existence of witches, and the power which the devil exercises over the elements of nature, ruling the tempest and the whirlwind, and proving himself to be what the Scripture calls him,—the prince of the power of the air.*

The treatise on the 'Immortality of the Soul' is occupied chiefly with proving that we have the idea of a spirit apart from that of a body. Incorporeal substance is not, as Hobbes said, a contradiction. More wishes to prove that there must be an immaterial substance in man, because matter has not the properties which belong to mind. All the arguments assume that Hobbes denied the existence of the soul as distinct from the present body. But as Hobbes' doctrine did not necessarily imply the denial either of the existence or the immortality of the soul, so neither are these proved by More's arguments.

In the 'Mystery of Godliness' he treats of Christianity. The full title of the book is 'An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness; or, a True and Faithful Representation of the Everlasting Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and Sovereign over Men and Angels.' The book is written without method or plan, but in such a way as to allow the author to introduce any subject whatever. One or two chapters are spent in refuting the 'Family of Love.' More's own sympathies with mystical doctrines might have disposed him to a patient con-

* Henry More makes use of all ple, but was never seen, except once

CHAP. VI. sideration of the merits of this sect. But instead
 — he manifests against them all the bitterness of
 hatred and misrepresentation. He supposes that
 the truth of the letter of Scripture. It is not even
 they did this, but the moral meaning of Scripture
 was more important to them than the history itself.
 was always deep in the moral meaning, but he men-
 tioned the truth of the literal record. The revelation
 Christianity he reckoned distinct in kind from
 revelations. Henry Nicholas, on the other hand
 that he was commissioned to introduce a new dispensation
 which he called the dispensation of the Spirit.

Mystery de-
 fined.

More speaks of godliness as a 'mystery.' To understand
 this mystery a man requires initiation. This is
 to the pure in heart. The proper entrance to dis-
 cern the mystery is by the gate of holiness. *Mystery* is explained
 in various ways. It is something completely hidden
 so utterly concealed but that it may be in due season
 intelligible. What the mystery indicates is not
 intelligible but true. It is not an impertinent or idle
 fiction, but something which has a religious use.
 Platonists called mysteries initiations, because by them
 men were restored to happiness. The obscurity of the
 mystery cannot be removed by any natural knowledge.
 It is but one interpreter of the mysteries of the Gospel.
 It is the Spirit of God, the 'Great Mystagogue.'
 The Spirit which reveals truth to our understanding,
 and faith in our hearts. God has not spoken so plainly
 in the Scriptures as that men can understand them without
 the Spirit. He keeps the staff in His own hand, directing
 the humble and the single-hearted, but leaving the proud
 to lose themselves in the obscurity of night.

Plato's
 Trinity.

Contrary to what we should have expected, Mr. More
 identifies the Trinity of Plato with that of the Chris-
 tians. The three hypostases of the Platonic Trinity are
 'The Good' or 'The First One;' 'Intellect' or 'The
 One;' and 'Soul,' or 'The One and All.' The

hypostasis was 'Essentially Soul,' that is, 'love and operation,' 'Causally Matter and the World,' 'Participatively Good and Intellect.'*

This Trinity, More says, is Pagan, and not to be confounded with the Trinity of the Scriptures. But before he ends this chapter, he tells us that the Platonists borrowed their Trinity from the Jews. He explains the miracles of Apollonius and the other Pagans by the supposed agency of the devil. He enters into long disquisitions concerning the nature of souls, and the mode of their existence when separated from bodies. There are many good things in the 'Mystery of Godliness,' as well as in More's other works, but it is only with very great qualifications that he can be reckoned among the number of rational theologians.

John Wilkins, who preceded Bishop Pearson in the bishopric of Chester, is also to be included among the Cambridge Platonists. He was less mystical and considerably more practical than Henry More. His treatise on 'The Principles and Duties of Natural Religion' was published after his death by his friend John Tillotson, afterwards the famous Archbishop of Canterbury. The design of it, Tillotson said, was to establish the great principles of religion, the being of God, and a future state, by 'showing how firm and solid a foundation they have in the nature and reason of mankind.' Hobbes is the author whose doctrines it is designed to oppose. Religious and moral duties must have a higher source than mere authority, whether that of God or man. Tillotson says it is plain that mankind always were under a law, even before God had made any external or extraordinary revelation. If they were under no law they could not be judged, for where there is no law there is neither obedience nor transgression. In Christianity we have unspeakable advantages, both as to the de-

Bishop
Wilkins

On na
religio

* In Greek—

Τὸ ἀγαθὸν = Τὸ πρῶτον ἔν.

Νοῦς = Ἐν πάντα.

Ψυχὴ = Ἐν καὶ πάντα.

Second Hypostasis.

Κατ' οὐσίαν νοῦς.

Κατ' αἰτίαν ψυχῇ.

Κατὰ μέθεξιν τ' ἀγαθόν.

CHAP. VI.

Arguments
for the exist-
ence of Deity.

degrees of light and as to the motives that induce us to obey God's commandments. Yet it is profitable for us to consider the primary and natural obligation to piety and morality which is imposed by the law of nature. This law, as Locke says, is 'every whit as much the law of God as the revelation of His will in His word, and, consequently, whatever is contained in the word of God, or in any pretended revelation from Him, can be interpreted to dissolve the obligation of moral duties plainly required by the law of nature.'

Bishop Wilkins begins his treatise with a discussion of different kinds of evidence. What he says on this subject has often been said since his time. The chief point is that different subjects have different kinds of evidence. Human nature is so framed as to acquiesce in a conclusion with certainty when the subject is capable of that alone. Assent properly is an assent upon such evidence as would satisfy reasonable and unprejudiced men. The arguments for the existence of God are the ordinary practical arguments. Wilkins had not much taste for metaphysics or abstruse disquisitions on the Infinite. His first argument is the universal consent of nations in all times and places. Those who allow that human nature is rational, this is a conclusion from universal reason. The assent of all men to a good argument of its kind. It was observed by Locke that the existence and nature of God and a future state are more firmly believed by the vulgar, who were guided by the simple dictates of nature, than by the philosophers, who were able to reason themselves into doubts and difficulties. This universal consent was noticed by the ancient philosophers. Cicero often refers to it. 'No man,' he says, 'is so savage, no man is so rude, that his mind is not influenced by the fear of the gods.' And Seneca says, 'There is nowhere any nation so utterly lost to all sense of law and morality, as not to believe that there are gods, or any object the case of some savage tribes, Wilkins says that like men born blind, they are exceptional. But from them is to deny that there is such a thing as

the vulgar. The philosophers of antiquity believed only in one God, but the multitude believed in many. This universal belief was not the result of any agreement. It was an effect produced by a cause. And the effect being universal, the cause must be so too. It is in the very nature of our minds. All men are so constituted that they seek after God. And it is agreeable to reason that God should set such a mark upon His creatures as would lead them to the Author of their being, to whom worship and reverence are due. These general ideas the Greeks called 'common notions' and 'seminal principles.' The Latins called them the 'innate or written law,' to which corresponds the Apostle's phrase, 'the law written in their hearts.'

Another argument for the existence of God is from the original of the world. Either the world had a beginning, or it is eternal. If it had a beginning, it must have been either by chance or by the will of a Creator. That it had a beginning, and that from the wisdom of a Supreme Being, is the more credible hypothesis. This is shown by testimony and by reason. Aristotle, though he believed that the world emanated from God, yet declares that the philosophers before him were of opinion that it had a beginning. To the same effect is the testimony of the Hebrew Scriptures and the traditions of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phœnicians, and Greeks. The want of any relics of antiquity before the Trojan war, convinced Lucretius that the world had a beginning. Other proofs are the late invention of arts, and the fact that this world is not everywhere inhabited and cultivated. Two other arguments for the existence of Deity are derived from 'the admirable contrivance of natural things,' and from 'the works of Providence in the government of the world.' Wilkins' proofs of the attributes of Deity are chiefly drawn from the testimonies of Pagan writers. On the fact of these attributes he builds an argument for adoration and worship. To serve and obey a Being so great, powerful, just, and good, is a natural dictate of reason.

CHAP. VI.

Religion profitable for the life that now is and for that which is to come.

To fear God and to keep His commandments is duty of man. It is that for which man was made, man's business, and that on which his well-being depends. Wilkins makes good these principles out of heathen antiquity. Cicero says that 'Among all the living creatures in the world, there is none but man that has any notion of Deity; and among men there is no nation so wild and barbarous but pretends to some religion.' Juvenal says that this which distinguishes us from the brute creature is that we have souls capable of divine impressions.' Cicero says it is 'exceedingly improper to ascribe true religion to those who do not acknowledge and adore the Deity.' Religion is that which makes a man. He might be defined as a being capable of religion. This is the highest meaning of the word rational. Wilkins descends to details to show that in all things the good of man is promoted by religion. Religion is the moral cause of health. They that follow the law of religion lengthen their days. It is also the natural cause, promoting temperance and sobriety, moderating the passions, conquering anger, hatred, sorrow, envy, and preserving a cheerful countenance. It is not a rule without exception, but a rule, that good men live long, while the wicked are cut off in the midst of their days. Religion makes men contented, teaches them contentment, which is the greatest pleasure and riches. It yields the most lasting pleasures. It procures a good name, honour, and reputation in the world. It is the strength of a nation. Cicero and Polybius, as well as Augustine and Lactantius, say that the Roman Empire enjoyed its greatest prosperity when the people were most religious. Religion has the promise of the life which now is and of the life which is to come. Wilkins finds the reason of the difference between things in natural religion. Christianity gives more certainty concerning the certainty of them. We are under obligation to do all the duties which reason and nature suggest to us. But we who have the brighter revelation of the Gospel have even higher motives than the law of

ture were well meant. They were intended both to refute infidelity and to establish Christianity. In the last chapter of this book there is a discourse of the excellency and advantages of the Christian religion. Sooner or later the question was sure to present itself, that if the light of nature was so clear, what need for the Christian revelation? Again, if men can be saved by keeping the laws of nature, how is this compatible with the declaration of the Gospel, that salvation is by Jesus Christ alone? The latter question Bishop Wilkins partly answers. He saw clearly the temporal benefits which God had connected with keeping natural laws. But we cannot, he said, from these outward dispensations infer anything with certainty concerning the eternal condition of those who never heard Christ's gospel. He admitted that Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Chrysostom had expressed their belief that the good men among the heathen would be saved. But this is not the opinion of the rest of the Fathers. We know that God's goodness and mercy as well as His judgments are a great deep. He has not told us how He will deal with the heathen; and it is not proper for us, Bishop Wilkins says, to tell Him how He should deal with them. Of this we are assured, that if God saves them, it will be for the merits of Jesus Christ; for there is no other name given among men whereby we can be saved. There is no escape for those who neglect this salvation. He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned. The only way of salvation for us, to whom the Gospel is preached, is by faith in Christ. This is proved from the evidence of the divine authority of Christianity, and from the excellency of the things contained in the Gospel. Wilkins at last escapes the question he had raised by the orthodox solution, that we are not judges of what is right with God. It was the peculiar and distinguishing doctrine of the Platonists of Cambridge, that justice is common both to God and man; that it is antecedent to the divine will, and consequently that God must deal justly with the heathen according to our ideas of justice.

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CHAP. VI.
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 John Smith.

interesting of the Cambridge men, was John Smith, died before he had reached the meridian of life, hind him nothing more than a volume of 'These were not popular sermons, but rather lectures addressed to a college audience. Dr. V. speaks of Smith as a 'great scholar and a husband. His death was deeply lamented at Cambridge already the acknowledged leader of the earnest University, and gave great promise for the future. Patrick, afterwards the learned Bishop of Ely, in his funeral sermon, taking for his text the words, 'I saw it, and he cried, O my father, my father!' 'I said, 'When I saw the blessed spirit of our brother say? or our father, making haste out of that world lies before us, these words which I have now read in my mind; and methought I saw the good gentleman in his place, which inspired us with so much sense of his goodness, taking its flight and leaving this life at which my soul catched, as I fancied Elisha took Elijah, and I cried out, *O my father, my father, of Israel and the horsemen thereof.* Desirous I that *Αποθέωσις* might have been a little while deferred, might have stayed the wheels of that triumph wherein he seemed to be carried, that we might have had him a little longer in this world, till, by his holy influence into our souls, and the grace of God, we had been able to have some share in that inheritance of the saints, and so he might have gone to heaven with his train, and all his friends along with him as attendants to the throne of honour wherewith I make no doubt he is crowned.

The first of Smith's discourses is 'Concerning the Right Way or Method of Attaining to Divine Knowledge. In art or science, he says, has some certain principles, by which the whole frame and body of it must depend. He would fully acquaint himself with the mysteries

Divinity a divine life rather

furnished with the *præcognita*. But divinity is rather than a divine science. It is sometimes

blance and analogy with it.* Things of sense and life are best known by sentient and vital faculties. And so Scripture sets forth a good life as the *prolepsis* and fundamental principle of divinity. Wisdom hath 'built her an house, and hewn out her seven pillars.' But the fear of the Lord is 'the beginning of wisdom.' The foundation of divine science must be laid here. It is true that divinity is an efflux from the eternal light. Like the sunbeams, it does not merely enlighten. It also gives heat and joy and gladness. And therefore it was that Christ connected purity of heart with the beatific vision. The pure in heart shall see God. As 'the eye cannot behold the sun unless it be sun-like,† and has the form and resemblance of the sun drawn in it, so neither can the soul of man behold God unless it be god-like.‡ They that seek divinity merely in books and writings, seek the living among the dead.§ In them truth is more frequently 'entombed' than 'enshrined.' He that would truly learn divinity must follow the old precept, 'seek for God within thine own soul.‖ He is best discerned, as Plotinus says, by an 'intellectual touch.** We cannot be true theologians till *we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled the word of life.* The soul itself has its sense as well as the body.†† When David would teach us what the divine goodness is, he says 'taste and see.' Zoroaster's disciples once asked their master what they should do to get 'winged souls,' that they might soar aloft in the bright beams of divine truth. He answered that they were to bathe themselves in the waters of life, which he explained as the four cardinal virtues, which are the four rivers of Paradise. Plutarch tells us that the priests of Mercury, when eating of the holy things, used to cry out 'Sweet is truth.‡‡ 'Sweet and delicious,' Smith says, 'is that truth which holy and

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* Γνώσις ἐκάστων δι' ομοιότητος γίνεται.

† ἡλιοειδὴς μὴ γινόμενος.

‡ θεοειδὴς μὴ γινόμενη.

§ The German scholar will remem-

Lebt' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft

Wie könnte uns das Göttliche entzücken?

‖ 'Intra te quare Deum.'

CHAP. VI. heaven-born souls feed upon in their mystery
 — with the Deity, who can tell but they that taste
 is elevated by the divine Spirit to a communion
 It is turned into sense. What was formerly but
 becomes an open 'vision.'

Simplicius, in his commentaries on Epictetus
 the Epicureans as a 'herd who have drowned
 sober reason in the deepest Lethe of sensuality
 these he reckons four sorts of men. The first
 tiferious man.' He is made up of soul and body
 'by a just equality, and arithmetical proportion
 powers in each of them.' In these men knowle
 of sense and reason so 'twisted up together th
 easily be unravelled and laid out into its first
 They never rise above the surface of the earth.
 are described by Plato as 'heavy behind.'†
 class is more spiritual. It is represented by t
 looks to what he is by his soul rather than b
 He has the 'communes notitiæ' more clear and
 is fit to be initiated into the 'mysteria minora
 mysteries of religion. The third class is the m
 already purged, and are continually flying o
 body and bodily passions. They are such as ha
 the pollutions which are in the world throug
 them belongs a lower degree of science. The
 is represented by the metaphysical and contemp
 who, 'shooting above the logical or self-rational l
 into the highest life.' Men of this class have a
 wisdom. They have in their souls an infant Ch
 manifesting in them the glory of the Father.

Superstition.

Another of Smith's 'Discourses' is on 'Su
 All truly religious men who have wished to fo
 have ever found superstition to be their greatest
 is the counterfeit of religion, and has a more reas
 than religion itself. Smith defines it as a false
 the Deity. It is to represent Him as 'auster
 'arbitrary' and 'arbitrary.' This is done Smith

tion was distinguished from rational religion among the CHA
 heathen in the same way and by the same marks as among
 Christians. Plutarch ascribed to it the origin of bloody
 sacrifices. Maximus Tyrius says that 'the pious man is God's
 friend; the superstitious man is a flatterer of God.'
 Simplicius has beautifully said 'that repentance, supplica-
 tion, and prayers ought to draw us nearer to God, not God
 nearer to us, as in a ship, by fastening a cable to a firm rock,
 we intend not to draw the rock to the ship but the ship to
 the rock.' Smith describes superstition as insidiously mixing
 itself with a seeming faith in Christ. He specially notices
 the tendency of some people in his own time who made
 nothing of a good life, but who wished to lay all on the
 active and the passive righteousness of Christ. Some made
 the offering of Christ an excuse for their sins, putting the
 merits of Christ between them and a 'severe and rigid justice.'
 The natural religiousness of man requires to be guided by
 reason. If not, it will develop into superstition. In the least
 cultivated man there is a desire after God, a kind of natural
 instinct antecedent to any mature knowledge. The Stoics
 called it the 'movement towards God.*' When not properly
 directed, it is what Plutarch calls it, the 'divine disease.†
 Superstition begets atheism. The superstitious man makes
 a god like himself, and the atheist says it is no god. Colotes,
 the Epicurean, wrote a book to prove that a man could only
 be happy by the philosophy of Epicurus. As if all good
 concerned 'the pores and passages of the body.' If it were
 so that the highest happiness of man were such as might be
 felt by a corporal touch, we might well 'sit down and be-
 wail our unhappy fates that we should rather be born men
 than brute beasts, which enjoy more of the world's happiness
 than we do, without any sin or guilt.'

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Among Smith's 'Discourses' there is one on the 'Im-Immort
 mortality of the Soul.' The bane of religion is superstition,
 but its foundation is faith in God and the life eternal. The
 author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has well expressed
 this in the words 'He that cometh to God must believe
 of the S

CHAP. VI.

Every good man feels that his soul is immortal.

of the soul. The Pagans made the highest knowledge to be the knowledge of God and of ourselves.* To know ourselves is to know our dignity and immortality. The soul is immortal, Smith supposes to be so evident, that it might be assumed as a postulate. Cicero quotes the law of it the 'consent of nations.' This law is not to be always followed, for by it might be established many errors and superstitions. But the immortality of the soul is one of the first or most original ideas of the human mind. It is one of the 'uniform judgments' which are common to all men. Averroes that there is a 'common intellect.' The soul is eternal because it is 'indivisible.' In its own nature it is an essence which endures. It can only cease to exist by a positive decree of Heaven depriving it of being. The fact of motion supposes a soul distinct from matter. The soul reasons about the things presented by the senses. In so doing, it has to abstract itself from 'all corporeal commerce.' Its acts are spontaneous. It has many ideas and notions, independent of the body, and clear ideas of truth. These all testify that in its nature it is immortal as well as immaterial. But the highest of all evidence of the soul's immortality is that which is begotten within by goodness and virtue. Every man has not sufficient reasoning to prove his own immortality. But every man feels it. A higher radiance breaks in upon the soul. The purification of the mind by a righteous life is opening of the soul's windows to let in the light of God. Then the good man sees God, knows God, and is in the presence of a union with Him. He is assured that that presence which surrounds him now will continue to surround him for ever. 'These breathings and gasping longings for eternal participation of Him are but the enkindling of our own breath within us.' If God intended to destroy man, He would not show it such things as He has shown. 'He would not raise it up to such *mounts of vision* as all the glory of that heavenly Canaan flowing with life and unbounded pleasures and then humble it.

that are such ambitious suitors for His love. The more they contemplate the blissful effluxes of His divine love upon themselves, the more they find themselves strengthened by an undaunted confidence in Him.' In our souls God has engraven His own image. It is there we can learn *what* He is. It is there we can consult the divine oracles. We can ask counsel from God by the Urim and Thummim on the breastplate of the soul.

Smith explained the resurrection body as St. Paul had done. It was not the present complex body of flesh and blood, but a spiritual body. What the Platonists called the 'spiritual vehicle' of the soul, or what Zoroaster called the soul's 'aerial mantle.*' And this is the explanation of the words, 'they shall be equal unto the angels.' Prophecy is defined as an enthusiastical mode of communicating truth; a free influx of the divine mind into our minds. One chief object of it is to quicken our minds 'to a more lively converse with the eternal truths of reason.' When truth comes into this world, it is content to wear our mantles, to learn our language, and, as it were, to conform itself to our fashions. 'It speaks with the most idiotical sort of men in the most idiotical way.'

The greatest preacher of the Cambridge Platonists was Benjamin Whichcot. We notice him last for several reasons. His sermons were not published till some time after his death, and they were connected with the controversies of the next century more than the writings of any of the others. As a London preacher and the author of popular discourses, his influence was the greatest outside of the University.† One volume of Whichcot's sermons has some historical interest from its being first published with a preface written by the Earl of Shaftesbury, the author of 'The Characteristics.' Shaftesbury was not yet reckoned a Deist. He called the principles of Hobbes 'atheistic,' and he blamed Hobbes for much of the impiety and irreligion of that age. Shaftesbury never owned to Deism, and Hobbes never owned to Atheism. The charges in both cases were

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Is goodness
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thority?

only inferential, and, therefore, in both cases the case of Hobbes the least fair of the two. The one which Shaftesbury opposed, and which is opposed in the sermons to which he wrote the preface, is that naturalness is not the goodness recommended in Christianity. This was one phase of the question which has been discussed,—whether goodness is eternal, or if it is only constituted by authority. What Hobbes said of the subject, when speaking of his ‘Commonwealth,’ we have already seen. What qualifications or limitations he made we have also seen. But there was another class of people to whom the doctrine of authority was agreeable. Orthodox Christians thought that it would be advantageous to Christianity if it could be shown that man knew nothing of what was right and just and good, without external revelation. Shaftesbury speaks of this as having become a method of reasoning in his time. But it was no new method. It had found advocates among Fathers, Schoolmen, and Reformers, and among these it had also found opponents. The same principle which consigned to perdition the heathen gods among the Pagans, and which made Archbishop Whitgift following St. Augustine instead of his own better judgment to say, that ‘good works’ were not acceptable to God unless done by Christians. It was to deny the truth of the Christian religion, that a place might be found for revelation which was called revealed, in contradistinction to what was called natural, by the immediate teaching of God. Like two suns on the same throne, it was thought that the one must be put to death if the other is to reign. It was doubtless one of the chief motives of Puritanism to vilify human nature. This it learned from Calvin, and Calvin learned it from Augustine. Man was regarded as wholly depraved. Even little children were supposed to be monuments of unrighteousness, to be cast into everlasting burnings, unless they were among the elect, or, as St. Augustine put it, unless they were baptized. Whatever man was supposed to be evil. Whatever man was supposed to be good, external revelation was supposed to be the only

called religion piety. It was the best word they had for it. CHA And more than the half of piety consisted in natural affection. All moral works and moral duties are pleasing to God, because they are moral. God shows His approbation of them by the rewards that naturally accompany them. It is a great advantage to the Atheist, Shaftesbury says, to be able to show that 'there is nothing in man that moves him to what is moral, just, and honest, except a prospect of some different good, some advantage of a different sort from what attends the actions themselves.' He will not deny the importance of the external revelation. He fears, however, that many have been led to deny the principle of natural goodness, lest they should seem to under-estimate the need of revelation. 'In this way they have been forced to wound virtue, to be selfish in religion, and to see no happiness in well-doing, except what is in reversion.' Thus the Atheist and the Christian, the one fearing a proof of Deity, the other prejudice to revelation, have made war even with virtue itself. But man's nature, according to Shaftesbury and Whichcot, is not so untoward a thing but that it has a secret sympathy with virtue and honesty. God has so contrived, that if a rational being shall sink into sensuality or any kind of moral pollution, misery and torment shall befall him in this life. Virtue and vice are the foundations of peace and happiness, or sorrow and misery. No power can separate between vice and the punishment which is necessarily and naturally connected with it. Even if God were not to inflict a positive punishment, the vicious man would punish himself. Shaftesbury advocates these views of the foundation of religion and virtue, expressly that he may be better able to defend Christianity.

Virtue
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ment.

The first sermon in this volume is on the text, 'Never man spake like this man.' The words of Jesus were full of wisdom. Under pretence of reason, some men dispute the existence of Deity, and some the principal matters of the Christian religion. But the doctrines of Jesus will stand to be tested by reason. Whichcot considers first the

CHAP. VI.
Christianity
to be tested by
reason.

quality of Christ's teaching. It is that which itself, that which satisfies the mind concerning and usefulness. It is because we believe this to be the character of the Christian religion that we reject the notion of the Church of Rome to be the infallible judge. No man has the capacity to discover, to feel, and to judge. Christianity is true. The exercise of the individual judgment is part of the training of every Christian. It is necessary to the attainment of any great progress in Christian life. The men who are most settled in their faith are those who have most used their own judgments. The truth is self-evident, and so satisfactory to the reason that it is always be received by men whose minds are open. Whichcot's arguments are all built on the Platonic doctrine, that there is an absolute reason which is the Divine Being and to all rational creatures. It is called the soul's health and strength, its true and perfect perfection. It is that which speaks to man as Wisdom speaks to God, saying, 'I was by His side, I was brought up with Him. I was daily His delight. Truth presents herself, our souls know her as we know the face of an old and familiar friend.

Truth of two
kinds.

These are general statements. Their meaning is definite when we apply them to particular cases. Truth is divided into two kinds. It is either 'of first instance' or 'of after revelation from God.' The one is 'common to all men.' It belongs to the soul. It is the 'soul's common sense.' The other is the 'soul's cure.' It supposes the soul is diseased, and provides a remedy. It lays down 'terms of peace and reconciliation.' The one is truth necessary to all men absolutely. The other is 'the voluntary results of the determination of the divine will.' The one is written, in the Bible or on tables of stone, but in the heart of every man. It is interwoven into our rational being. The other is the external law, is given to recall the soul from the stasis of sin. Had there not been a law in the heart, the external law would have been of no value.

in the government of the body, a moderate use of the pleasures of life, justice and righteousness in men's dealing with each other. These are of the class of natural duties. But the revelation in the Gospel also speaks for itself. It bears a Divine impress. The substance of it is independent of external authority and external circumstances. The men of Samaria said, 'We have heard Him ourselves, and we know that He is the Christ.' This was the answer of souls that felt the truth. The words of Jesus ravish men's hearts. They meet an answer in the universal reason. Men wonder at them, and the world exclaims, 'Never man spake like this man.' 'The great things of revealed truth, though they be not of reason's invention, yet they are of the prepared mind readily entertained and received.'

The first step towards receiving the truth, or, indeed, towards knowing it, is sincerity. A desire to regulate our lives by what we know to be just and good is the best evidence that we are in earnest. Light will come in upon us just in proportion as the life of righteousness increases within us. He that is living in a state of eternal death will not easily believe in eternal life. Remission of sins is something incomprehensible to those who love their sins. The true penitent, on the other hand, forgives himself with more difficulty than God forgives him. Before the Gospel revelation, that for which earnest men incessantly craved was the forgiveness of sin. Humanity groaned under the weight of guilt. The cry of every good heathen was, 'Who will deliver me from the body of this death?' That for which the world was waiting and longing the Gospel revealed. Whichcot says that 'the great principles of reason are by awakened minds easily found out,' and 'those of the Gospel by prepared minds fairly admitted and entertained.' The heathen entirely agree with us as to the principles of morality. We have nothing to say as to moral duties which has not been said by them. They often speak and act so as to shame professing Christians. The representations which the Scriptures make of God are such as are worthy of

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there have been men who grossly neglected the
of natural knowledge. It is also true that there
great, even invincible, ignorance in several ages
of the world concerning the chief doctrines of
Yet it may be said that the great principles of
and the main articles of the Christian faith have
a universal acknowledgment. This is explained
not received by every individual person,' but 'a
and even proportion it bears to the universal
mankind.' The great differences that have be
world have not been about necessary or indispensa
This is true even of what is revealed in the H
parties agree as to the essential doctrines of Ch
Whichcot mentions two things that helped to co
in the truth of Christianity. One is, that it has ex
Error and falsehood, he says, never live long.
was derived from a consideration of the goodnes
of God. It could not be supposed that He wo
that which was false to be believed in all times a
the world. An objection might be made to this
especially as it is here stated. Whichcot antic
objection, and in answering it explains, or rather
meaning.' The religion of Mahomet is widely s
has existed for centuries. Mahometanism, so far
longs to Mahomet, is not reasonable. All that
seems to mean is, that in the main God will not
to be deceived. The value of the argument only
Christianity so far as it is plainly rational. It is
faith in God, and the faculties which God has giv

Another sermon is on the text, 'I am not ashamed
gospel of Christ.' It is properly a sequel to the
'Never man spake like this man.' We are not a
the Gospel for the very reason that it is so full o
dom of Christ. Whichcot puts aside all the lang
mon in his day, both among High Churchmen an
about receiving the Gospel because it is a myste
receives it because it is reasonable, that must be

We are not
ashamed of
the Gospel,
because it is
rational.

cannot be said that we receive it because it commends itself CHA
to our reason or conscience. We cannot say that we are not ashamed of it, if, as some of the Fathers said, it is to be believed because it is incredible. If it be true that 'no man ever spake like this man,' those who pronounced this judgment must have understood what was said. All these things are implied in the very nature of Whichcot's argument. He therefore at once sets aside the idea of the Gospel being a mystery. It was so before it was revealed. It was hid for ages, but now the secret is opened; that which was hidden is brought to light. The natural knowledge of God is the product of reason. Revelation is the other part of religion, and reason is the recipient. 'God gives His counsels only to intelligent agents, so that reason has a great place in religion.'

The centre of Whichcot's theology is the inseparability of
goodness and blessedness, of vice and misery. To do good
is to be like God, and to share in His eternal and glorious
existence. To do evil is to fight against God, against the
nature of essential being, yea against our own nature, and
therefore the result must be misery. Hell rises out of a man's
self, and hell's fuel is the guilt of a man's conscience. 'The
judgment of God at the last day will be easy, for there will
be none to be condemned but what were condemned before.
For man's misery arises *out of himself*, and not by *positive
infliction*. Men run upon mistakes; the wicked and pro-
fane think that, if God *would*, they may please themselves,
and no harm done, and that it is the will of God only that
limits and restrains them; and they think that they are out
of danger if God would forbear a *positive infliction*. This is
a great mistake.' Sin brings hell in its train, but not in vir-
tue of the will of God, for right and wrong are independent
of the divine will. And well-doing brings blessedness.
'Heaven is an eternal reconciliation to the nature of God,
and to the rule of righteousness.' It was objected to Which-
cot in his time, that to preach about good and evil with
their inevitable consequences was not preaching Christ. He
Insepa
of good
and bl
ness, c
and m
Preach
Christ
fined.

CHAP. VI. blessedness, transgression and suffering. We
 — preach Christ as if His name were 'a charm or s
 His death we have remission of sins; but, before w
 eternal life, we must have a righteousness within u
 cannot save us unless we are righteous. If Go
 reckon a man righteous who is not righteous, 't
 God's would be a wrong act.'

The theology of Calvin was banished from the
 the Cambridge Platonists. It was irrational.
 sented God as doing what it is impossible for H
 tently with His own nature, to do. Whichcot sa
 think of God that He useth His creatures as He w
 no account of any of His matters to principles of r
 righteousness. But certainly the ways of God
 accountable of anything to righteousness.' With
 the Cambridge men set aside Calvin, and with
 some favourite doctrines that were popular with C
 One of Whichcot's sermons is on the Lord's Su
 shows in some plain and clear words how unnece
 the mystery which men throw around this ordinan
 said, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' Here is
 something to be done; and the explanation of
 why it is to be done. There is nothing more said
 have a multitude of questions raised about the cele
 the Supper,—some concerning the company, and
 preparation; some the time, how often; and the pos
 that Jesus required was that we should observe
 comely, and retain Christian charity. A sacra
 positive, not a moral duty, and therefore it is no
 sable part of religion. As to the company, Juda
 mitted when the Supper was instituted. As to
 the disciples were met upon another occasion, a
 this business. As to preparation, the disciples
 pared for the Passover, and knew nothing of what
 to do. How often is not set down, nor is the pos
 tioned. Jesus took the disciples as He found th
 superstitions about the posture are of later origin

Superstitions
 connected
 with the
 Sacraments.

Christians. Men are prone to superstition, but God expects CH
us to act according to His prerogatives of reason and un-
derstanding.*

Richard Cumberland, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, Bish
wrote his treatise, 'De Legibus Naturæ,' expressly to refute berla
Hobbes. Hallam says of this work that it makes an epoch The
in the history of ethical philosophy. The appeal is no longer
to the authority of Fathers and Schoolmen, but to experi-
ence. Cumberland affirmed the existence of the laws of
nature, which Hobbes seemed to deny. A great part of
the controversy depended, indeed, on the meaning or use
of the word law. Hobbes said that laws of nature are
not properly called laws till they are imposed by the civil
ruler. John Selden said that they were not properly laws
till they were imposed by God as the legislator. They
supposed, in strict language, that there was no law with-
out a lawgiver. Cumberland did not see the necessity of
authority to make a law. We could discover laws at work
in nature. If we observe them carefully in their causes and
effects, we may find out for what ends they are working.
If we put ourselves in harmony with these laws, the results
will be beneficial both to ourselves and to other beings.
These laws teach us by their consequences, which are to us
their precepts or sanctions, that our duty is to endeavour
with all our ability to promote the common good of all
rational beings. This is an obligation imposed upon us by
the very nature of these laws previous to all questions of
civil government. There is a necessary connection between
the highest human happiness and acts of universal benevo-
lence. The good of the individual is bound up with the
public good. We do not always see the connection in this

* The reader of Whichcot's sermons cannot fail to mark the likeness between them and those of Frederick Robertson. It would be easy to quote from Robertson's sermons many passages parallel to this: 'We stand nearer related to God than we do to any being in the world; our souls and nearer to us than what is most ourselves.' In another place Whichcot says, 'It is as natural and proper for mind and understanding to tend towards God, as for heavy things to tend towards their centre, for God is the creator of immortal souls. All understandings seek after God, and have

CHAP. VI.

Which has the greater certainty, revelation external or internal?

life, but we see enough to convince us that it exists when we do not see it. In the laws of nature God tells us what actions will promote the common good. We are assured at the same time that these will be mutually beneficial to ourselves. The law of nature is nothing more than right reason, or as the ancients justly called it, natural reason.'

The Cambridge men derived our knowledge of natural reason and conscience. These were made the basis of human life, and the sure way to blessedness. The external revelation was supposed to have additional authority from its agreement with the revelation within. But if this agreement was not entire, it followed that the one must regulate the other. Which of the two, then, is to be preferred? This was not the only question at issue. The difference between those who followed external authority, and those who sought the origin of law in immutable natures, was even to the very essence of God. With Hobbes God was Absolute Will. With Cudworth and those of his school God was Absolute Wisdom. As wisdom or reason was something in itself independent of the divine will, so was justice, which was an integral part of that wisdom. Evil, then, must bring its own punishment. Strictly speaking, there is no place for forgiveness. Every man must personally bear the punishment of his own sin. If this is proved, it follows that the substitution of one man for another or for all men, is impossible. What, then, is the meaning of the doctrine of sacrifice for sin? In the theology of the Cambridge Platonists, it cannot be the same as it is in the theology of Calvin. It must be understood in such a way as it can be harmonized with what we call the eternal laws of immutable right. The external revelation must agree with the internal. If not it must be rejected. The priority must always be given to the revelation in the soul. The certainty of this is greater than the certainty of any external revelation. If that is agreeable to reason it may be received, and then

for as to time we must go back to another controversy CHA
which began where this ended. Even before the publica-
tion of the 'Leviathan,' Lord Herbert of Cherbury had
taken up the position that external revelation has less cer-
tainty than the revelation in the soul.

Dr. Leland makes Lord Herbert of Cherbury the first of Lord H
the English Deists, and Robert Hall calls him 'the first of Cher
and purest of our English freethinkers.' The name of
Herbert is a name dear to the Church of England. The
quaint but devout poet who sung of the priest and the
temple was himself the high ideal of the temple priest. He
was the representative man of the early Reformed Church
of England. His brother, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was
no less the representative of the age in which he lived. He
was a man of extensive learning, a brave knight, 'a mirror
of chivalry,' as one of his admiring countrymen called him,
as familiar with the sword as with the pen, a royal ambas-
sador, a skilful diplomatist, and a refined courtier.* As a
child he was sickly. It was a long time before he learned
to speak. His first inquiries were concerning his coming
into this world. Some laughed, but others wondered at the
anxious thoughtfulness of the child. When he grew older,
he meditated much on the strange mystery of finding him-
self in possession of a conscious existence, though oblivious
of any sufferings which he might have had at his birth.
From this he was comforted by the hope that the agonies of
dissolution might be no more than the pains of being born
into another world. 'For as I believe,' he said, 'that I
shall then be admitted to a more happy state by God's
grace, I am confident I shall no more know how I came out
of this world than how I came into it.' As he reflected
how all the wonderful organs of speech and sense were
formed with a prospective adaptation to this life, he con-
cluded that the faculties of hope, faith, love, and joy, which

* Herbert wrote his autobiography, in which he records many curious things of himself and of the times in which he lived. He was sent to
bert took the side of the Parliament, and had his castle of Montgomery destroyed by the Royalists. Horace Walpole says of this autobiography.

CHAP. VI. are being formed now, and which cannot rest
 — that are perishing and transitory, would find their
 faction in the life to come. They reach out
 temporal and the finite. They crave the perfect
 nal, and the infinite. 'The proper object of these
 says Herbert, 'is God only; upon whom faith,
 love were never placed in vain, or remain long u
 Again, in one of his poetical pieces, which remind
 brother's verses, he says:—

'I am most sure
 Those virtuous habits we acquire,
 As being with the soul entire,
 Must with it evermore endure.

* * * *

'Else should our souls in vain elect—
 And vainer still were Heaven's laws—
 When to an everlasting cause
 They gave a perishing effect.'*

His theology
 a philosophy.

Lord Herbert's theology is of necessity a phi
 all natural theology must be. It has its foundat
 son, and is thus connected with a system of meta
 at least a doctrine of mental science. Herbert wa
 logist. He believed in the capacity of the hum
 penetrate the reality of being. Since Nature ha
 with faculties to discern sounds and colours, wh
 the 'fleeting qualities' of things, she must, h
 have given us the sure means of discovering the tr
 are internal, necessary, and everlasting.

* Lord Herbert had a chaplain in
 his house, who read prayers twice a
 day in his family, and sometimes a
 sermon, generally one of Smyth's.
 When he was dying, he requested
 Archbishop Ussher to give him the
 sacrament, remarking that it mattered
 little whether he received it or not;
 but at the same time saying that if
 there was good in anything, it was in
 that. The Archbishop declined to
 administer it, for which he has been
 much blamed. He probably took the

by Herbert for himself:

'READER!

'The monument which t
 here
 Presents Edward, I
 to thy sight:
 A man who was so fre
 hope or fear
 To have or lose this o

'That when to elemen
 turned were,
 He knew that as th

Herbert's metaphysics are somewhat abstruse, but that need not trouble us. They have no inseparable connection with his religious system, beyond the general fact that he believed in the capacity of the human mind to know truth. Hallam quotes his axioms and propositions at some length, and then excuses himself for not going into Herbert's arguments. 'Partly,' says Hallam, 'by not thoroughly grasping his subject, partly by writing in Latin, partly perhaps by the "sphalmata et errata in typographo, *quædam fortasse in seipso*,"* of which he complains in the end, Herbert often fails to make himself intelligible.' This obscurity, however, does not affect the great outlines of his system. His religious teaching and the grounds on which it rests are clear and definite.

The difficulty which pressed on Herbert's mind, and which separated him from the Christianity of his day, was the same which meets every reasoning man when he is first told that the Divine Being has in any way limited the salvation of the human race. In his time the religious world was divided into two parties, which seemed to him about equally irrational, and both as corrupters of simple Christianity. These were the Sacerdotalists, who suspended all on the Church, and the Puritans, who resolved the everlasting condemnation of the greater portion of the human race into the mere will of God. If there is no salvation out of the Church, if God has left it to depend on the mere accident of being baptized by a properly ordained priest, or on having received the other sacrament, according to certain prescribed rites and ceremonies, where is the goodness, not to say the justice, of God towards the heathen, and those who are without the pale of the Church? And if He is good and merciful and just, how can He take pleasure in the eternal reprobation of those to whom He never even offers salvation? Herbert laid it down as a first principle that God must, in consistency with His own character, have given to all men the means of being saved. He found that his difficulty was not a new one. Some divines had tried to obviate it by

CHAP. VI. moment of death. Others—the Schoolmen, for
 — taught that saving grace was never wanting to
 did their best. Moreover, he found that many of
 Fathers believed the heathen could be saved.
 seemed not only reasonable, but necessary for the
 tion of the universality of Divine Providence.

Starting with the conviction that God must in
 have revealed Himself to all men, Herbert pro-
 inquiry, how far, and in what way, He has revealed
 In his book, 'On Truth as it is distinguished from
 tion, Probability, Possibility, and Falsehood,' he
 discover what are the truths of reason concerning
 that is, the truths which are intuitive or innately
 being revealed directly to the mind, he holds for
 certain truths. Some men put faith before reason
 is to invert the proper order. It is to pronounce
 before the cause is heard. There is a catholic or
 reason of mankind. What agrees with it is true
 catholic truth. Religion is innate in man. It is
notice in the mind. No nation, no age, is without
 in some form. This is the distinguishing mark, 'the
 difference,' between man and the brute.* No
 Herbert, with sound faculties can be an atheist.
 is as natural to man as faith or hope, love or in-
 is religion which makes him a man. The universe
 testifies to five articles which are *common notices*
 ideas, in the soul. (1.) That there is a God.

Five articles
 of natural re-
 ligion.

* Hallam notices that the same distinction was made by John Wesley, who says that the true difference between man and the brute creatures is not reason, but that we are formed to know God and they are not. George Herbert has said something of the same kind:—

'Of all the creatures, both on sea and land,
 Only to man Thou hast made
 known Thy ways,
 And put the pen alone into his hand.

Trees would be turned
 native lute,
 To Thy renown: but a
 and throats
 Are brought to man
 are lame and mute
 'Man is the world's his
 doth present
 The sacrifice for all
 below
 Unto the service mute
 Such as springs use
 winds that blow'

He ought to be worshipped. (3.) That virtue and piety are the chief parts of worship. (4.) That we are to repent and turn from our sins. (5.) That there are rewards and punishments in another life. CHA

All the heathen nations acknowledged one God. The Romans called him 'greatest and best;' the Greeks, 'God over all, self-produced, beginning and end of all things.' The Mahometans call Him 'Allah,' and the Indians 'Brahma.' It is admitted that in one sense the Pagans were polytheists, yet they all had a supreme God who ruled over all worlds both of gods and men. He was the first of beings, the only true Being, the permanent amid all change; in the words of the Orphic verses, 'the beginning, middle, and end of all things,' corresponding to the words of a New Testament writer, who says, 'Of Him, and to Him, and through Him are all things.' What we know to be good in ourselves as partakers of the divine reason must be supremely in Him whom we call God. Author of all good, He must Himself be good. He is just. There are anomalies in the world which we cannot explain, yet He rules in righteousness. He is wise. All things bear witness to His wisdom. The infinity of space is the infinity of God, for He pervades the boundless universe. His infinity proves His omnipotence, and His omnipotence proves His freedom to will and to do according to His pleasure. There God.

That God ought to be worshipped is the second notice in the mind. It is a plain dictate of reason. Our relation to Him, our daily dependence on Him, and the benefits which we receive at His hands, show how natural and becoming are thanksgiving, prayer, and praise. All nations have expressed this in some form or mode of worship, in shrines, in temples, in vows, in sacrifices, and in consultations with the Deity as to future events. There have been indeed many errors connected with religion, and many superstitious ceremonies; yet the catholic reason, or *common notice*, plainly teaches that the chief part of divine worship is virtue joined with piety. This, Herbert says, is, and always has been, Chief p
divine v
worship

CHAP. VI.

Repentance a
natural duty.

Rewards and
punishments.

The Gentiles
have this law
written in
their hearts.

sity of repentance is inferred from the dread which rests on the minds of wicked men, showing that they are not ignorant of their vices. It is true indeed that all nations, both in old times and in the present day, have devised various ways of expiating sin. The Romans had their sacrifices and their purifyings. All nations have their sacrifices. The universal consciousness of guilt, the reasonable sense of repentance, and the need of atonement, led men to build altars, and to offer oblations to the offended Deity. For rewards and punishments in a future life, no nation has been so barbarous as not to have acknowledged them. The Greeks pronounced the reward to be in heaven, some in the stars, and some in divine contemplation. The Persians were in the infernal regions, in hell,—either a lake of fire, or burned or smoked,—sometimes in metempsychosis, sometimes in death, either temporal or eternal. Conscience, as well as religion, law, and philosophy, distinctly proclaims that there is a reward to the righteous, a God that judges, and that He will avenge in His own time all the wrongs which escapes punishment in this life.

In his book 'On the Religion of the Gentiles,' Herbert goes to the heathen world to show that certain articles were universally received. This he holds as a certain proof from simple facts that they are common to all, or parts of God's universal revelation to man. Since it is true that the inhabitants of Crete first invented the statement which Herbert indignantly rejects, religion is 'written in the hearts of men.' There is in the human mind a universal dissatisfaction with this life. Its brevity, its uncertainty, and the sorrows consequent on change and decay, make it not only unsatisfying, but sad. Life goes down while it is yet day. The fairest promise of happiness and enjoyment are often blighted, as the early leaves of spring-time. No man has such satisfaction in this life as to suffer him to believe that he was created for it alone. His mind is greater than the world. It craves something more than the world can give. Even the ancients, who

that pleased the eye and the ear, and yet he longed for something higher. He craved the infinite. He *felt after* the living God. 'And God,' says Herbert, 'inspiring all men with a desire of an eternal and more happy state, tacitly discovered Himself, who is eternal life, and perfectly blessed.'

It is confessed that the Gentiles had many errors concerning the first article of the catholic faith. Yet the wiser among them found their way out of the labyrinth. And even these errors are capable, if not of extenuation, yet of explanation, by a more comprehensive view of the philosophy of religion. The multitude of the Pagan deities is reducible to the manifold names of the one Infinite God, according to the saying of Seneca, that 'God may have as many names as He dispenses benefits.' Each of the greater deities is represented by some of the poets or philosophers as the Pantheus,* or All-God, who was in all, and over all, and through all. Besides the *certain* or known gods, according to Varro's classification, there were *dii incerti*, the gods of whom nothing was sufficiently known to admit of regular worship. That these views of the Divine nature were much nearer the Christian than is generally supposed, we may see from the character of the worship which was rendered to God. 'The polemical writings,' says Herbert, 'of the heathen theologists and philosophers who lived among Christians show that they acknowledged piety and virtue to be the chief part of Divine service. Celsus even dared to challenge the learned Origen to point out anything in the Christian religion that tended more to the establishing of virtue than the Pagans had before acknowledged. They no more doubted that a virtuous man should arrive at the seat of the blessed, though he knew not where it was, than that a traveller going on in the right path which leads to any magnificent city must come to the place he intended.' Plato said, 'We should endeavour to be like God, by prudence, justice, and holiness.' The Christian religion has no

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ligion.

CHAP. VI. higher precept than this, and this was the teaching of the philosophers of the heathen world.

There are many passages in the writings of the philosophers which show that the Gentiles had the same knowledge of good and evil which we have. They ascribed anger, malice, concupiscence, and depraved desires to the gods. They knew that wars and fightings came from the lusts in the members. They knew, also, that repentance was the way to amendment and forgiveness. 'The knowledge of sin is the beginning of salvation,' said Seneca; 'He that repents of his sins is almost innocent.' They knew, too, from whom forgiveness was to be obtained. Cicero says expressly, 'There is no expiation of sins by the death of men.' Even Lucretius could not deny that the terrible was the

'Mens sibi conscia facti

Præmetuens. . . .

Nec videt interea, qui terminus esse malorum

Possit; nec qui sit poenarum denique finis.'

And Ovid could say,—

'Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis

Flumineâ tolli posse putatis aquâ.'

The hope of a future life pervades all the literature of the heathen world. It forms a prominent part of all the philosophies of the heathen world. In that life the Gentiles looked for the rewards and punishments which they could not always discern in the present life. To this their Elysium and Tartarus corresponded. The gods and dæmons and their judges in hell, are all witnesses to the fact. The philosophers comforted mourners concerning their departed loved ones by saying that they had gone to a better world. They would not complete their happiness, to be rewarded for their sufferings. Death was even a relief to them than it is to us. Already they rejoiced in the prospect of victory over the terrible destroyer who threatened them. 'They did not represent death,' Herbert says, 'with a meagre countenance, thin-jawed, and de-

Did not look
upon death
with terror.

men be possessed that nothing but their bones remained after this life. For this reason they were more valiant and inclined to the practice of virtue, because death was esteemed by them only as a passage from a good to a better life; thinking it very base and mean that nothing of those who had led exemplary lives here should remain after death.'

Herbert admits that it was with great labour that he found these five articles of religion among the Pagans. But he did find them, and the discovery made him 'more happy than Archimedes.' He had found, as it were, a lever with which to move the world of superstition, and, at the same time, a place on which to stand, from whence he might vindicate the moral character of God. It rejoiced his heart to know that the Divine mercy was not limited to an elect few, to a baptized Church, to Jews or Christians, but that it extended to the whole race of Adam. It was manifested in past ages and in other dispensations. Wherever there were men, there God had left witnesses of Himself, *and in every nation he that did righteousness was accepted of Him.* It is true these five articles were dug, as it were, out of the accumulated superstitions of ages. These superstitions were the work of the priests, who were interested in multiplying ceremonies and keeping the people in ignorance. What priests did of old time they do now. All the perversions of doctrine, all the irrational dogmas that are imposed upon the world, all additions to religion which are not found in the universal or catholic reason of mankind, are the inventions of priests. In all ages priests have claimed supernatural powers, and in all religions they have been the opponents of reason, and of that only pure religion which has its foundation in reason. It was the glory of Christianity that it summed up, so to speak, all that was good in the Pagan world; and when that was placed in contrast with the superstitions superadded by the priests, heathenism naturally expired. It could not withstand the raillery of the Fathers of the Church. 'But,' says Herbert, 'by their

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Religi
ways
ed by
priests

CHAP. VI. this time. *The hierarchy also remained, in which authority in sacred matters.'*

Herbert does not deny external revelation.

Herbert nowhere professes opposition to Christianity even to *revealed* religion, as that expression is understood in the religious world. But he wistfully rests Christianity upon the internal rather than the external evidence. The five articles which constitute 'the catholic religion,' he regarded as embracing the substance of what is taught in the Scriptures. Whatever revelation adds to these is not so evidently true, and on that account to be rejected. 'There is,' he says, 'no certain revealed truth which, unless ungrateful, we can ever over in silence. But it is not of the same kind as that which is derived from the faculties. It has no absolute certainty, for it depends on the authority of the Church and is not a truth of the mind.' He lays down as a condition of an external revelation, but they are so strict that they have but little authority for any revelation which is not directly dictated. A revelation to be believed must be made manifest. Such a revelation Herbert had when the Divine 'gentle noise' in the heavens on a calm summer evening intimated that it would be for the benefit of mankind. He published his book '*De Veritate*.'*

The concluding chapters of this book, 'On the

* 'Being thus doubtful, in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my casement being open towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my *De Veritate* in my hands, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words,—*O Thou Eternal God, author of this light which now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech Thee of Thine infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make : I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book. If it be for Thy glory, I beseech Thee give me some sign from heaven ; if not, I shall suppress it.* I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud though gentle noise came forth from the heavens (for it

protest before the eternal light, neither am I any way deceived herein ; since I can clearly hear the noise of the serenest sky that ever was without a cloud, did, to see the place from where

Herbert has been suspected for believing that the revelation was made to him, yet placing internal evidence on higher grounds than external. ridicule is scarcely justified by his argument is, that the revelation made directly to oneself is a revelation made to the world, coming to us through the testimony. He believed that prayer was answered

Possibility, and Falsehood,' need scarcely be noticed. Probability is that which depends on the authority of a person or persons, as history or tradition; Possibility concerns things future; and Falsehood is simply that which can neither be said to be probable nor possible, but is so opposed to truth, whether common, probable, or revealed, that it implies some contradiction. To the 'De Veritate,' Herbert appended two tracts, one 'On the Causes of Errors,' and another 'On the Religion of a Layman.' In the latter he shows the difficulty which the layman must have in finding out which is the best religion, when the clergy are advocating a faith scarcely to be distinguished from credulity, and denouncing reason as too depraved to be of any service. He recommends the layman to use his reason in the spirit of faith and prayer, and promises that he will find 'those truths which flourish everywhere, and which must flourish always,' for they are inscribed on the human mind, and depend on 'no tradition, either written or unwritten.' Past things being only among the probable, books professing revelation are to be received with caution, and only that in them which is conformable to right reason. In reading the Holy Scriptures we should be careful to notice that all things spoken there are not of equal authority. More than once Herbert intimates that he is far from desiring to injure Christianity, 'the best religion in the world.' He wishes to establish both it and the universal religion, which, he says, 'answers the ultimate design and end of Holy Scripture, for all the doctrines there taught aim at the establishment of these five articles, as we have often hinted. There is no rite or ceremony there enjoined but what aims, or seems to aim, at the establishment of these five articles.' He concludes his book 'On the Religion of the Gentiles,' with a declaration of his willingness to submit to 'the censure of the catholic or orthodox Church, but not to the impious enemies of universal Divine Providence and the *public peace*.' Herbert was a Parliamentaryman, but this is an obvious fling at those of the Puritans who believed *particular grace* was

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There
within
strong
dence
extern
lation.

CHAP. VI.

John Locke
disputes Her-
bert's doctrine
of *innate ideas*.

Though Herbert built his theology on his motto, 'I think, therefore I am,' they were not, as we have already said, necessarily connected with each other. Locke, in his 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' controverted the doctrine of *innate ideas*, and contended that ideas which are not found to exist in the mind from birth—as, for instance, in children and idiots—cannot be innate. This is like saying that physical strength is not innate in children because young children have not yet reached maturity, or that the capacity to know good and evil is not innate in children because there are men, and perhaps nations, who have not yet reached the ordinary standard of mankind. Herbert, on the other hand, holding that the capacity of development existed in every man, pronounced ideas *innate*. Locke, seeing the existence of ideas clearly manifested only in the developed mind, sought to trace their origin to reason and reflection. 'They equal the truth,' he says, 'who, running into the extremes, either affirm an innate law, or deny that there is any law knowable by the light of nature; i.e., without the aid of positive revelation.' Though denying that Herbert's five articles are *common notices*, Locke yet admits their truth as truths of reason. He raises doubts about the morality of the virtue in the Pagan world, and the sins to be reformed, and he cites the case of some nations who are without temples, or idols; yet he admits that the wise nations have arrived at the true conceptions of God and infinity of the Divine Being. 'His name is not mentioned to express a powerful, wise, and invisible Being, but the suitableness of such an idea to the principle of reason must everywhere be readily received.' He disputes Herbert's axiom, that God must have revealed His knowledge of Himself in the minds of all men, and that it seemed suitable to the Divine goodness. The Church, he thinks it best that the Church be infallible, but

That all men to be responsible must have some religious knowledge, is all for which Herbert contended. Locke admitted the main proposition, but differed as to the mode in which God reveals Himself. For innate ideas he substituted reason, by which man could feel after God, and find Him. CH.

Locke's treatise 'On the Reasonableness of Christianity' is supposed to have been written with special reference to Herbert's system. The title at once suggests the object, which is to inquire concerning the nature of the Christian religion, and how far it is agreeable to reason. The treatment of the subject is only partial. Nothing is said of the grounds on which we are to receive the facts and doctrines in the Scripture, which, though reasonable, are not discoverable by reason. With Locke's usual caution and precision, and, at the same time, with his natural deficiency in comprehensiveness, he limits himself to the question of the reasonableness of Christianity considered as a scheme proposed for our reception on what he regards as good evidence. He is equally severe with Herbert against the priests who, to procure reception for their irrational dogmas, forbid the exercise of reason. Sacerdotalism and Calvinism he regarded as the great corrupters of Christianity; the former as the promoter of superstition, the latter as shaking the foundation of all religion. Eternal punishment for the sin of Adam, whom we never authorized to act as our representative, scarcely falls in with our ideas of what is right. Locke speaks of some who, recoiling from this, went to the other extreme, denying that redemption was necessary, and making Jesus Christ nothing but 'the restorer and preacher of a pure natural religion.' This reference is probably to Herbert, but there is nothing in Herbert's writings to show that he would not have taken the same view of Christianity which was taken by Locke. Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity.

Setting aside systems of divinity, Locke restricted his inquiry to the Scriptures. He found that the doctrine of redemption—the chief doctrine of the Gospel—was founded upon the supposition of Adam's fall. The true way, then,

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The law of
faith.

Adam. There would have been had He doomed man, to a state without remedy on this account such a state would have been worse than non-being as the present existence is better than non-existence still debtors to God. And as to things eternal, He would reward every man according to his works. By sin came death. By Jesus Christ came life. We cannot keep the law whereby Adam had life, but God has given us the 'law of faith.' Those who keep this law are saved; they gain immortality. Those who do not keep it lose their souls; that is, according to Locke's interpretation of the Bible. But in what does this faith consist? Abraham believed Sarah would have a son, and he was counted unto him for righteousness. What merit was there in this? Abraham believed something contrary to the order of nature. Is the reasonableness of Christianity staked on its requiring from us belief in something unreasonable? Jesus required that the Jews should believe He was the Messiah. Was there any merit in believing without proportion to the evidence He gave them? We have no right to believe in the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, on the testimony of the Apostles and Evangelists. But, again, what can be the value of man's testimony? It can only be an historical faith. The Bible says that the devils believe and tremble. Locke answers that such objections have some validity. He answers that historical faith may be a justifying or saving faith if God chooses to make it so. It was never promised to the Jews that their faith should be accounted for righteousness. The whole of this seems against the reasonableness of Christianity. It is just the ground on which such a man would have refused belief. It is the great stumbling-block which stands in the way of the reception of Christianity by rational men. It is virtually putting aside reason. It is contrary to all that Locke teaches, in his 'Essay on Human Understanding,' concerning the relation of reason to truth. Yet the truth dawns upon him at last, as it

heart than the intellect. It is no blind credulity, no spirit CHA
of believing whatever is told us; but, from the examples
given by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is
plainly 'a steadfast reliance on the goodness and faithfulness
of God for those good things which either the light of nature
or particular promises had given ground to hope for.'

But the crucial question remains. Jews and Christians
had something proposed to them for belief. They could be
divided into the two classes of believers and unbelievers;
but what was to become of the heathen who had never Can t
heard of the Messiah? Locke had but one answer to this— heath
saved
the answer which Herbert gave; the only answer which
reason can give,—they shall be rewarded according to what
they have done, and not according to what they have not
done. God will not expect ten talents where He gives but
one. He will not require that any should believe promises
of which they never heard. 'Yet God,' says Locke, 'had
by the light of reason revealed to all mankind who would
make use of that light, that He was good and merciful, and
he that used the candle of the Lord so far as to find what
was his duty, could not miss to find also the way to recon-
ciliation and forgiveness when he had failed of his duty.'

It is generally supposed that in showing Christianity to
be reasonable, Locke eliminated its chief doctrine—that of Locke
the atonement. Such a passage as the one just quoted atone
concerning the heathen, may seem to sanction its belief, for
it resolves forgiveness simply into the mercy of God. It
provides salvation for those who have never heard of Jesus
Christ, as well as for those who have believed on His name.
And yet Locke did not deny the atonement; he did not try
to explain it; he did not know in what it consisted; but he
believed there were '*transactions* between God and our
Saviour in reference to His kingdom which were out of the
reach of our ken and guess.'

Thomas Halyburton, a minister of the Church of Scot- Thom
land, and Professor of Divinity in the University of St. An- burto
drew's, wrote an elaborate answer to Herbert's whole system. to Lo
bert.

CHAP. VI.

Denies that
we are judges
of what is just
with God.

was to vindicate the justice of God. Halyburton
fied that however unjust it might appear to us
should sentence the majority of mankind to e
misery because of Adam's sin, yet it was perfec
God. In other words, we have not capacities to
us judges of what is divine justice. From Ha
lament of the universal prevalence of Deism, which
was the religion 'in vogue among the great wi
time, it would seem that there was a general rec
part of all thoughtful and intellectual men from
dotalism and Calvinism that had been alternat
ascendency during the course of the seventeenth
For the present state of the religious world
blames the great divines of the Church of England
preached so much about the reasonableness of
and, as he says, 'put ethics in the place of the Go
calls them Arminians and Socinians, affirming
made the law of grace nothing but a restitution
of nature. He judged that the best way to bring
accept revealed religion was to show the insufficie
natural light. He does not seek to extinguish it.
that all nations have some idea of God, and that
obvious of the divine laws have been known b
light. The heathen said some good things. In
knew just enough *to justify the Divine Being in*
them. This was all the knowledge that any Cal
required to find in the Pagan world. Concerning
five articles, Halyburton pronounced the Scot
'not proven.' The heathen world was not ag
them, and, moreover, 'the best things which are
ascribed to the light of nature were derived from
tion of an original universal revelation.'

The question of the heathen world was made t
of a learned treatise by one of the most earnest a
tial of the great theologians of the Church of Engl

Daniel Whit-
by on the ne-

was Daniel Whitby, D.D., Chanter of Sarum
never mentions Herbert, but he evidently had

ness of the Christian Revelation by Reason of the Corruption of the Principles of Natural Religion among Jews and Heathens.' This coupling of the Jews with the heathen as equally in need of a new revelation, shows how little Whitby undertook to prove, and how much he assumed as to what constitutes a revelation. All had a knowledge of God at one time, but when Christ came they were in darkness. The Jews' religion was so corrupted that it had ceased to serve the end for which it was given. They had perverted the plainest precepts, and turned even the special favours that had been bestowed upon them to the uses of bigotry and superstition. They imagined that God made the world specially for them, and that while His providence watched over them, the other nations were under the power of the Prince of Darkness. They weakened the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, teaching that as Jews, as Abraham's seed, as hearers of the law, they *must* be saved, while the nations of the earth were doomed to destruction without end. They thought they did well when they kept one precept of the law, though neglecting all the others. They were averse to government, supposing that God was their king. They made void the duties of children by their doctrine of *Corban*, and by causing proselytes of the gate to forsake their relations. They violated the Sixth Commandment in their hatred to others; the Seventh, by their proneness to impurity; the Eighth, by their disposition to rob and plunder; the Ninth, by their common swearing; and the Tenth, by their covetousness and love of the world.

The corruptions of heathendom were corruptions of an original *revelation* as well as those of Judaism. Whitby lays down the wide principle that the doctrines of natural religion are as truly the revelation of God's will to the heathen as Scripture is to the Jews or Christians; and yet he paints a picture of the heathen world as dark as if his object had been the same as Halyburton's. He quotes extensively from the Pagan philosophers to prove how small was their knowledge, and how uncertain they were about

CHA

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— They accounted it the greatest happiness *not to be born*; and the next after that, *to die soon*. death ‘*the best invention of Nature,*’ but never on mention in connection with this desponding view of existence the only satisfactory answer,—the life with its rewards and punishments. Indeed, Socrates testified that but few believed in the soul’s immortality. Cicero says that the most learned men have always held this doctrine. All the philosophers have spoken of it fully. The only consolation that even a Seneca could bereaved concerning the departed was a *beatus animus* if he is either happy or he is not. Cicero says that nothing may be true, yet we have no certainty of good or evil, for ‘Nature has hidden the truth in darkness and again he says, ‘Many things happen which lead us as to make us sometimes think there are no gods, denied the power of God to raise the dead, and that it was impossible for Divine wisdom to know all events. When the philosophers looked at the confusion of the world, they even taunted the gods. ‘What apology will Jupiter or Apollo make for the world? The consequence of this uncertainty was to overthrow the foundations of virtue and religion. Hence the religion of the heathen was imperfect, idolatrous, unbecoming, and were really *without God in the world*. Their religions were obscene and filthy, as the Floralia in honour of the impure Flora. They were celebrated in the vilest manner as the Bacchanalian or Eleusinian solemnities, in which those initiated were said to be *regenerated*, and to be among the blessed, while the uninitiated were consigned to Hades or Tartarus. The vilest things were worshipped. The philosophers were immoral. They gave their wives to strangers. Other nations practised in common. This is saying nothing of incest and other sins, not now to be named, which were generalised in the heathen world. Whitby does not conclude from the dark condition of the heathen

Impurity of
Pagan wor-
ship.

the ancient world, against the light of nature. He knew that even Job had cursed the day of his birth, had threatened to come even to the seat of the Almighty to order his cause before Him, and that, excepting the disputed verse about the Redeemer, he had no answer from the hope of a future life to the fact that the righteous were often overtaken by calamities. Whitby knew also that there were men under the dispensation of Christianity who doubted of the existence of the Supreme Being, and as to the future life, trembled on the borders of an unknown land, hoping they might be blessed, and yet fearing lest they should not *be*. He knew also that the argument from the evil lives of the heathen, if directed against natural religion, might be easily turned against the Christian revelation. He testifies concerning the Christians of his day that 'adultery, theft, rapine, lying, swearing, bearing false witness, and coveting what belongs to others, are now become as common as they were formerly among the heathens.' He is satisfied with showing the need of further teaching, of republishing the doctrines of natural religion, and these he identified with the practical precepts of Christianity. He explains them as only the results of natural religion, drawn forth to our advantage in plain rules, adapted to the capacity of the meanest, and recommended to our practice from the most excellent example of our God and Saviour. To these, as constituting the sum of the Christian revelation, he adds 'the articles of the Christian faith which our reason was not able to discover. Moreover,' he continues, 'these laws of nature may be said to be implanted in the hearts of men in general, not that God hath put any innate ideas or natural impressions of them on the souls of all men. The Apostle plainly seems to found them on the *reasonings* of men.' (Rom. ii. 14.) This is quoting St. Paul to show that he agreed with Locke against Herbert, and that St. Paul and Whitby, as well as Locke and Herbert, were agreed on the main question concerning natural religion and its relation to the Christian revelation. Christianity made its way in

CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

Richard
Baxter replies
to Lord
Herbert.

We have reserved to the last Richard Baxter on Herbert. They were, however, in the order first. Baxter says expressly that he took notice of Herbert's books, 'lest, having been unanswered, the thought unanswerable.' He says at the same time is so far from writing against the whole of the 'Discourse' that he takes most of Herbert's rules and notices of singular use. The 'five articles' he pronounces natural certainties that the denying of them would ruin man.' Baxter had written a work on 'The Reason of Christian Religion,' in which he made no reference to Herbert. In this book he maintains that we have evidence of the being of God, the necessity of holiness, the future life of retribution; and not only have we evidence of them, but he shows, by long citations in Greek and Latin, that the wisest heathens confessed the same as we, though less distinctly than they might have done. The order of nature is a clear *revelation* of God's will. I keep our reason clear; to govern our thoughts, passions, senses, words, and actions. It was with Plato, 'The temperate man has God for his law; the intemperate, pleasure.'

In proof of the life to come Baxter adduces the testimony of conscience in all men 'that have not been led by reason by sensuality.' He appeals also to the consent of all that are worthy to be called men in all ages and countries that this is a truth naturally revealed to the most sure. He quotes Seneca, Cicero, Plutarch, Iamblichus, Proclus, Porphyry, Julian the Apostate, Antoninus, Epictetus, Arrian, and others, as heathen philosophers whom he found 'much good, who had a very great knowledge of their souls, and many of whom exercised great diligence in seeking after knowledge, especially in the mystical works of God.' Some of them even 'bent themselves higher to know God and the invisible world.' He quotes Theophilus of Antioch to have been very unjust to the heathen philosophers, and he praises Clement of

A passage concerning the Scriptures in his book on 'The Reason of the Christian Religion' was animadverted upon by an anonymous writer, which caused Baxter to write another work, called 'More Reasons for the Christian Religion, and No Reason against it.' In the second part of this book were 'Some Animadversions on a Treatise "De Veritate," by Lord Herbert.' The passage concerning the Scriptures was this:—'The Scriptures are so entirely the product of the Spirit's inspiration that there is no word in them which is not infallibly true; no one error or contradiction in any matter can be found in Scripture, but those of the printers, transcribers, and translators.' In Baxter's day it was almost necessary for a man to maintain this position to be within the pale of Christianity. Even Locke had spoken of the Scriptures as 'truth without any mixture of error.' The anonymous writer noticed some evident mistakes in the genealogies of the Bible, such as Matt. ii. 8, 9, where it is said Joram begat Ozias, Ozias begat Joatham, while in Kings and Chronicles there are three generations intervening between Ozias and Joatham. He also pointed out some passages in the Gospels not easy to be reconciled with each other. Baxter himself took every history, chronology, and genealogy in Scripture as certainly true. He made, however, several remarks which are hardly consistent with this assumption; such as that we might have a certainty of the Christian religion if it could not be proved that every word of the Scriptures is true, nor the writers infallible; that the Holy Scriptures contain *all our* religion, and *somewhat more*, that is, the accidents and appurtenances of it, just as the body of a man has its accidents besides the parts which are *essential* and *integral*. He says that a multitude of such-like historical, chronological, topographical, physical, accidental passages are not strictly a part of the Christian faith; that it is possible for a man to believe one part of the Bible to be God's word, and not another part; that the disciples of Christ were not absolutely and in all things infallible; that it is possible for a good Christian to

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more of the Spirit's assistance in the meaning of the Scripture than in the *words* or body, and he says significantly, 'It is the devil's last method to *undo* by and so to destroy the authority of the Apostles magnifying.'

Herbert's inquiries, as we have already remarked, arise from his desire to vindicate the justice of God, in opposition to the Calvinist scheme. Baxter was not at all with Calvinism, but he had not freed himself entirely from its influence. He looked upon the world as a place where all were condemned, and hell the gallows to which they were doomed to be led out. Nor did it shock him that the multitude of mankind should be cast into everlasting punishment for the sin of Adam. God has such an infinity of worlds in the universe that He can afford to destroy this. In casting one in a million into prison, or cutting off a head from a tree, or the increase of the human race, or the increase of the human race; as if justice did not extend to individuals. Baxter rises above this. He objects to penitence as a remedy, as Lord Herbert had taught, but he grants that the remedy is universal; and he explains that though the remedy is the death of Christ, and that it is for all, yet Christ did not appease God or make Him more merciful. He admits, too, that it is not universally necessary to believe in Christ to be saved. Christ's redemption is the *first cause* of our salvation. It was God's love which gave us Christ as the Redeemer. All men were brought by Christ under a covenant of grace. The covenant of innocency was made with all mankind, so the covenant of grace was made with all in the seed. 'None perish now for the mere sin of Adam, but merely for want of the innocency required by the law, but for the refusing and abusing some mercy proffered by Christ, which had an apt tendency to their recovery.' The question is raised whether any man can really repent and believe. Baxter escapes with a variety of distinctions which only a skilful Puritan could make. He says the heathen have the *power* to believe and

Can Pagans
be said to be-
lieve?

with Locke. He calls the understanding 'a bare sheet of paper,' which has no actual innate knowledge. He dissents most from Herbert on the question of testimony, or the value of external evidence. Nothing was so certain to Herbert as the truth which he believed God had inscribed on his mind. Baxter was satisfied of the certainty of this truth, and that it did not require Scripture to discover it. Yet he said, after he had silenced all his doubts about the life to come, he still felt in himself 'an uncouth, unsatisfactory kind of apprehension till he looked to *supernatural* evidence.' He confessed, indeed, that this was but the weakness of 'a soul in flesh,' which desires a sensuous apprehension. This, he says, may be a disease, but it is a disease which shows the need of a physician and of some other satisfying light. He dwells on the mode of revelation by prophecy, by miracles, by inspiration, as these things were understood in his day; and he pronounces the evidence so satisfying, that it is 'beyond our reach to know what could be more satisfying.' With evidence so clear, we should not hesitate to believe the most terrible passages in Scripture, such as those which seem to say that only a few shall be saved, and all the rest tormented for ever and ever.* As to the supernatural evidence, Baxter manifestly spoke as if it had come direct to us, and not through the medium of testimony, which was Herbert's reason for making it secondary to intuitive knowledge. And yet, when all is said, it is not on the external evidence, not on testimony, not on the supernatural that Baxter rests the reason of Christianity. He lays the foundation, first of all, in 'the natural verity and its admirable concord with the Gospel of Christ.' Grace is medicinal to nature; where the natural light endeth, supernatural beginneth. The superstructure which Christ has built upon nature is wonderfully adapted to its foundation. 'The sin and misery of the world,' says Baxter, 'is such that it groaneth for a Saviour, and when I hear of a physician sent from heaven, I easily believe it; when I see the woeful world, mortally diseased and gasping

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CHAP. VI.

No religion is true if the Christian is false.

The excellency of the Christian religion its great evidence.

in its deep distress. The condition of the world so suitable to the whole office of Christ and to that of the Gospel, that I am driven to think that if there were no mercy for it, some physician and extraordinary help would have afforded it; and when I see none other but Jesus Christ, whom reason will allow me to believe is that person who somewhat prepareth my mind to look towards him with hope.' And again he says:—'As there is no other religion that a man can with any strong show of reason and seeing that he that will appear a reasonable man must be of some religion, it followeth that to renounce Christian religion is to renounce reason, and to do so is to be injurious to reason itself.'

The excellency of the Christian religion becomes evident. Men feel its truth. The Holy Spirit witnesses its faith, holiness, and comfort in the hearts of men and is its lasting witness. It is the main argument by which Christian religion has been proved, and will be proved to the world's end. The actual saving of men by the operation of their hearts and lives is a standing seal and evidence of Christ. It is no question of genealogies, or local topographies. There may be no testimony as to the descendants, nor clear proof that Paul left his parchments at Troas, but there is a witness to the truth of men being reclaimed from selfishness and sensuality, and re-made in the image of God. Christianity is a living religion; men live it, and they will feel its truth. The greater progress we make in righteousness, the clearer will be the evidence of its everlasting foundations. 'It is God's mercy,' says Baxter, 'to cause the growth of faith at the root, and to give it its growth and tallness in fruit.' How wide the difference, in sense, is the difference between Richard Baxter and Herbert! and yet on his better or more rational ground, near does the great evangelist of the seventeenth century approach 'the first and purest of our English free

APPENDIX (A).

THIS volume embraces a period of about a hundred and thirty years. It does not profess to treat of every work in theology written during that time. Those only are mentioned which were necessary to my object, which is to trace the current of religious thought, and not to write a history of theological literature. I feel, however, that there are many works of which the reader would like to know something, although it has not come within my general plan to notice them. Several are mentioned incidentally in the notes, but there are still some which are not even named. It seems desirable, for the sake of completeness, to mention a few of them here. The first is Bullinger's 'Decades,' which in the Parker Society's publications occupy five large volumes. Though written by a foreigner, they partly belong to Church of England literature. Convocation, in 1586, passed an order enjoining every minister who had a cure, and was under the degree of Master of Arts, to provide himself with a Bible and Bullinger's 'Decades' in Latin and English, and to read over one sermon every week, making notes of it in a paper book, to be shown to some preacher appointed to examine it. The theology of the 'Decades' is the ordinary Swiss theology of that era. Many of the works of English divines, for more than a century after the Reformation, were defences of the Church of England against the Church of Rome. Among those not mentioned in the text are 'The Old Learning and the New Compared Together,' by Dean Turner; Dr. John Olde's 'Acquital; or, Purgation of the most Catholic Christian Prince Edward VI.;' his 'Confession of the most ancient and true Christian Catholic Old Belief;' Dr. John Prime 'On the Sacraments;' Dr. William Fulke's 'Defence of the English Translations of the Scriptures,' and his 'Confutations of the Notes of the Rheims Annotators;' with the great work of Dr. Andrew Willet, called *Synopsis Papismi*. All these books are full of the ordinary Calvinistic Protestantism which prevailed in the Church of England till the rise of Arminian High Churchism. The same theology will be found in the sermons of Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the time of King James, and in the writings of Dr. George Downhame,

tion was suppressed by Archbishop Laud. To these added an 'Answer to a Treatise of the Cross,' by Dr Calfhill, who died Bishop-Elect of Worcester in 1572 twelve sermons on 'The Sin against the Holy Ghost,' Sebastian Benefield, Margaret Professor of Divinity at in the time of James. Dr. Robert Abbot, Bishop of S and brother of the Archbishop of the same name, was pillar of Calvinism and Protestantism.

It may seem a great omission that nothing is said voluminous works of Dr. Thomas Jackson, Dean of Peterb and the once popular sermons of Dr. Donne, Dean of St. The works of Jackson are of great value, but his theolog scribed sufficiently by the word Arminian. He was not p a High Churchman, if we compare him with Laud, nor w Rationalist, if we compare him with Hales or Chilling Donne's sermons are not controversial or doctrinal. T generally classed with those of Bishop Andrewes. The large number of Puritan writers who would have been no the text had there been anything to distinguish them fro that are noticed. William Ames wrote many theological and several tracts against the ceremonies of the Church. Perkins was a learned and voluminous author. He very high Calvinist, and a thorough Protestant. H formed Catholic' was long a standard book. Perkins de place in any history of theology, from the circumstan Arminius wrote against him on predestination. The w some of the most celebrated Puritan writers, as Adams, Sibbs, Manton, Bates, Flavel, Ambrose, and Charno chiefly of a practical character, and therefore lie outside plan of this work.

Theophilus Gale, author of the 'Court of the Gentil the 'Anatomy of Infidelitie,' was one of the ejected mini 1662. He is sometimes classed with the Cambridge Pla but his affinity with the Puritans was closer than it w Cudworth or More. George Rust, Bishop of Dromore, w one of the Cambridge men. He wrote a book on truth remarkable sermon in Latin, on 'The Use of Reason in of Religion.'

The plan of this work excludes many great writers w

Roman Catholic controversy, and William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway in the time of James I., whose works, chiefly on practical subjects, make a large folio. Martin Fotherby, Bishop of Salisbury, 1618, wrote a curious book against atheism, called 'Atheomastix.' Dr. John Howson, who died in 1631, was an eminent polemical writer, chiefly against the Church of Rome. Samuel Harsnet, Archbishop of York, 1628, ought to have been mentioned for a sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross, against Calvinism, in the days of Whitgift. Harsnet was then a young man, and had not another opportunity of preaching at St. Paul's Cross while Whitgift lived. This sermon is bound up with three sermons by Richard Stuart. There is a copy of it in Dr. Williams's library. Francis Mason, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, wrote a valuable defence of the orders of the Church of England. A preacher and writer of considerable eminence in his time, was John Smith, Vicar of Clavering, in Essex, author of the 'Essex Dove,' which was published after his death as 'a taste of the works of that reverend, faithful, judicious, learned, and holy minister.' Smith was the successor of Andrewes as Lecturer at St. Paul's. His sentiments are openly Calvinistic and Puritan. The excellent sermons of Henry Smith, Puritan Lecturer at St. Clement Danes, should not be forgotten. It was probably the sermons of Henry Smith which Lord Herbert of Cherbury caused to be read daily in his family.

We have no complete history of our theological literature. The nearest approach to it is Dr. Hook's 'Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Biography,' which is generally accurate, though written with that strong party bias which characterizes all the Dean's early writings. Dr. Cattermole's 'History of Church of England Literature' consists chiefly of extracts from some of our great authors. 'The History of the Church of England,' by the Rev. George G. Perry, is a useful and readable book. In Dr. Pusey's treatise on 'The Doctrine of the Real Presence,' there is a catena of authors, with extracts from them. Dr. Pusey was followed by Dean Goode, a man who understood the spirit of these authors, and of the Church of England, much better than Dr. Pusey does. Dean Goode's work is heavy, but it is thorough, and perfectly trustworthy. A 'Retrospect of Religious Life in England,' by J. J. Tayler, is an elegant and thoughtful work, from the Unitarian point of view. The merits of Mr. Pattison's

APPENDIX (B).

The Bishops from 1530 to 1660.

CANTERBURY.

Thomas Cranmer	1533
Reginald Pole	1555
Matthew Parker	1559
Edmund Grindal	1575
John Whitgift	1583
Richard Bancroft	1604
George Abbot	1611
William Laud	1633
William Juxon	1660

ST. ASAPH.

William Barlow	1536
Robert Warton or Parfew	1536
Thomas Goldwell	1555
Richard Davies	1559
Thomas Davies	1562
William Hughes	1573
William Morgan	1601
Richard Parry	1604
John Hammer	1624
John Owen	1629
George Griffith	1660

BANGOR.

John Salcot, <i>alias</i> Capon	1534
John Bird	1539
Arthur Bulkeley	1541
William Glynn	1555
Rowland Merrick	1559
Nicholas Robinson	1566
Hugh Bellot	1585
Richard Vaughan	1595
Henry Rowlands	1598
Lewis Bailey	1616
David Dolben	1632
Edmund Griffith	1633
William Roberts	1637

BATH AND WELLS.

John Clerk	1523
William Knight	1541
William Barlow	1548
Gilbert Bourn	1554
Gilbert Berkeley	1560
Thomas Godwin	1584
John Still	1592
James Montague	1608

BRISTOL.

Paul Bushe (first bishop)	
John Holyman	
Richard Cheney	
John Bullingham	
Richard Fletcher	
John Thornborough	
Nicholas Felton	
Rowland Searchfield	
Robert Wright	
George Coke	
Robert Skinner	
Thomas Westfield	
Thomas Howel	
Gilbert Ironside	

CHICHESTER.

Robert Sherburn	
Richard Sampson	
George Day	
John Scory	
John Christopherson	
William Barlow	
Richard Curteys	
Thomas Bickley	
Anthony Watson	
Launcelot Andrewes	
Samuel Harsnet	
George Carleton	
Richard Montagu	
Brian Duppa	
Henry King	

ST. DAVID'S.

Richard Rawlins	
William Barlow	
Robert Ferrar	
Henry Morgan	
Thomas Young	
Richard Davies	
Marmaduke Middleton	
Anthony Rudd	
Richard Milbourne	
William Laud	
Theophilus Field	
Roger Manwaring	
William Lucy	

Martin Heton	1599
Launcelot Andrewes	1609
Nicholas Felton	1619
John Buckeridge	1628
Francis White	1631
Matthew Wren	1638

EXETER.

John Voysey, <i>alias</i> Harman	1519
Miles Coverdale	1551
John Voysey	1553
James Turberville	1555
William Alley	1560
William Bradbridge	1571
John Walton	1579
Gervase Babington	1594
William Cotton	1598
Valentine Carey	1621
Joseph Hall	1627
Ralph Brownrig	1642
John Gauden	1660

GLOUCESTER.

John Wakeman (first bishop)	1541
John Hooper	1550
James Brookes	1554
Richard Cheney	1562
John Bullingham	1581
Godfrey Goldsborough	1598
Thomas Ravis	1605
Henry Parry	1607
Giles Thompson	1611
Miles Smith	1612
Godfrey Goodman	1624
William Nicholson	1660

HEREFORD.

Charles Booth	1516
Edward Fox	1535
Edmund Bonner	1538
John Skyp	1539
John Harley	1553
Robert Warton, <i>alias</i> Parfew or Purfoy	1554
John Scory	1559
Herbert Westfaling	1585
Robert Bennet	1602
Francis Godwin	1617
Augustine Lindsell	1634
Matthew Wren	1634
Theophilus Field	1635
George Coke	1636
Nicholas Monk	1660

LLANDAFF.

George Athequa, <i>alias</i> De At-	
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Gervase Babington	1591
William Morgan	1595
Francis Godwin	1601
George Carleton	1617
Theophilus Field	1619
William Murray	1627
Morgan Owen	1639
Hugh Lloyd	1660

LINCOLN.

John Longland	1520
Henry Holbeach	1547
John Tailour	1552
John Whyte	1554
Thomas Watson	1557
Nicholas Bullingham	1560
Thomas Cowper	1570
William Wickham	1584
William Chaderton	1595
William Barlow	1608
Richard Neyle	1614
George Montaigne	1617
John Williams	1621
Thomas Winniffe	1641
Robert Sanderson	1660

LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

Geoffrey Blythe	1503
Rowland Lee	1534
Richard Sampson	1543
Ralph Bayne	1554
Thomas Bentham	1560
William Overton	1580
George Abbot	1609
Richard Neyle	1610
John Overall	1614
Thomas Morton	1619
Robert Wright	1632
Accepted Frewen	1643
John Hacket	1661

LONDON.

John Stokesley	1530
Edmund Bonner	1539
Nicholas Ridley	1550
Edmund Bonner	1553
Edmund Grindal	1559
Edwin Sandys	1570
John Aylmer	1577
Richard Fletcher	1594
Richard Bancroft	1597
Richard Vaughan	1604
Thomas Ravis	1607
George Abbot	1610

NORWICH.

Richard Nikke or Nyx	1501
William Rugge or Repps	1536
Thomas Thirlby	1550
John Hopton	1554
John Parkhurst	1560
Edmund Freke	1575
Edmund Scambler	1585
William Redman	1594
John Jegon	1603
John Overall	1618
Samuel Harsnet	1619
Francis White	1629
Richard Corbet	1632
Matthew Wren	1635
Richard Montagu	1638
Joseph Hall	1641
Edward Reynolds	1660

OXFORD.

Robert King (first bishop)	1541
Hugh Curwyn or Coren	1567
John Underhill	1589
John Bridges	1603
John Howson	1618
Richard Corbet	1628
John Baneroft	1632
Robert Skinner	1640

PETERBOROUGH.

John Chambers (first bishop)	1541
David Pole or Poole	1557
Edmund Scambler	1561
Richard Howland	1584
Thomas Dove	1600
William Pierce	1630
Augustine Lindsell	1632
Francis Dee	1634
John Towers	1638
Benjamin Laney	1660

ROCHESTER.

John Fisher	1504
John Hilsey	1535
Nicholas Heathe	1540
Henry Holbeach	1544
Nicholas Ridley	1547
John Ponet	1550
John Scory	1551
Maurice Griffin	1554
Edmund Gheast	1559
Edmund Freake	1571
John Piers	1576
John Young	1578
William Belew	1605

SALISBURY.

Lawrence Campejus	
Nicholas Shaxton	
John Salcot, or Capon	
John Jewel	
Edmund Gheast	
John Piers	
John Coldwell	
Henry Cotton	
Robert Abbot	
Martin Fotherby	
Robert Tounson	
John Davenant	
Brian Duppa	
Humphrey Henchman	

WESTMINSTER.

Thomas Thirlby	
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WINCHESTER.

Thomas Wolsey	
Stephen Gardiner	
John Ponet	
Stephen Gardiner	
John White	
Robert Horne	
John Watson	
Thomas Cooper	
William Wickham	
William Day	
Thomas Bilson	
James Montague	
Launcelot Andrewes	
Richard Neyle	
Walter Curle	
Brian Duppa	

WORCESTER.

Jerome de Ghinucci	
Hugh Latimer	
John Bell	
Nicholas Heathe	
Richard Pate	
Edwyn Sandys	
Nicholas Bullingham	
John Whitgift	
Edmund Freake	
Richard Fletcher	
Thomas Bilson	
Gervase Babington	
Henry Parry	
John Thornborough	
John Prideaux	
George Morley	

Thomas Young	1561
Edmund Grindal	1570
Edwyn Sandys	1576
John Piers	1589
Matthew Hutton	1595
Toby Matthews	1606
George Montaigne	1628
Samuel Harsnet	1628
Richard Neyle	1632
John Williams	1641
Accepted Frewen	1660

CARLISLE.

John Kite	1521
Robert Aldrich	1537
Owen Oglethorpe	1556
John Best	1561
Richard Barnes	1570
John Mey	1577
Henry Robinson	1598
Robert Snowden	1616
Richard Milbourne	1621
Richard Senhouse	1624
Francis White	1626
Barnabas Potter	1628
James Ussher	1641
Richard Sterne	1660

CHESTER.

John Bird (first bishop)	1542
George Cotes	1554
Cuthbert Scot	1556
William Downham	1561
William Chaderton	1579

Hugh Bellot	1595
Richard Vaughan	1597
George Lloyd	1604
Thomas Morton	1616
John Bridgeman	1619
Brian Walton	1660

DURHAM.

Cuthbert Tonstall	1530
James Pilkington	1561
Richard Barnes	1577
Matthew Hutton	1589
Toby Matthews	1595
William James	1606
Richard Neyle	1617
George Montaigne	1627
John Howson	1628
Thomas Morton	1632
John Cosin	1660

SODOR AND MAN.

Thomas Stanley	1510
Robert Farrer	1545
Henry Man	1546
Thomas Stanley	1558
John Salisbury	1571
James Stanley	1573
John Merrick	1576
George Lloyd	1600
John Philips	1604
William Forster	1634
Richard Parr	1653
Samuel Rutter	1661

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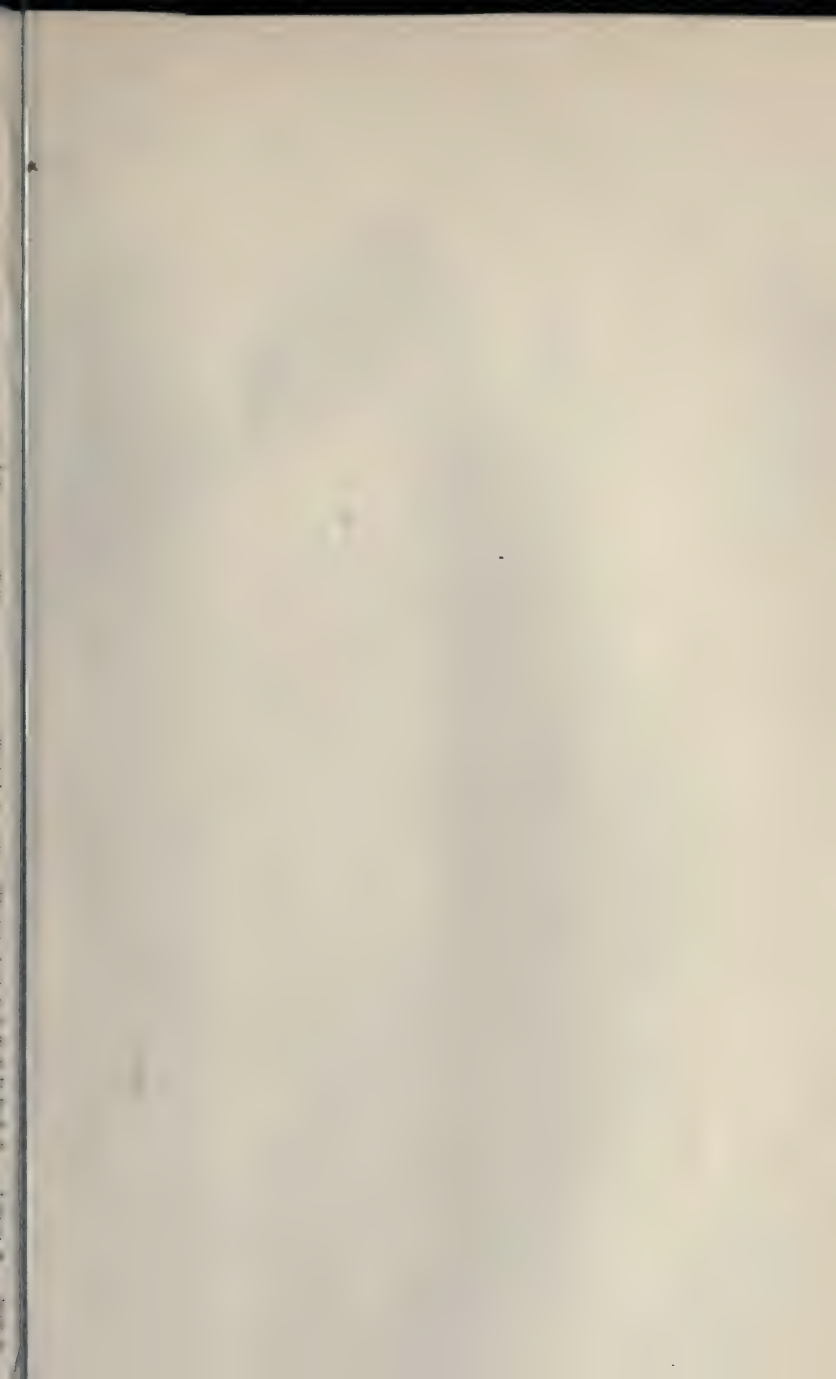
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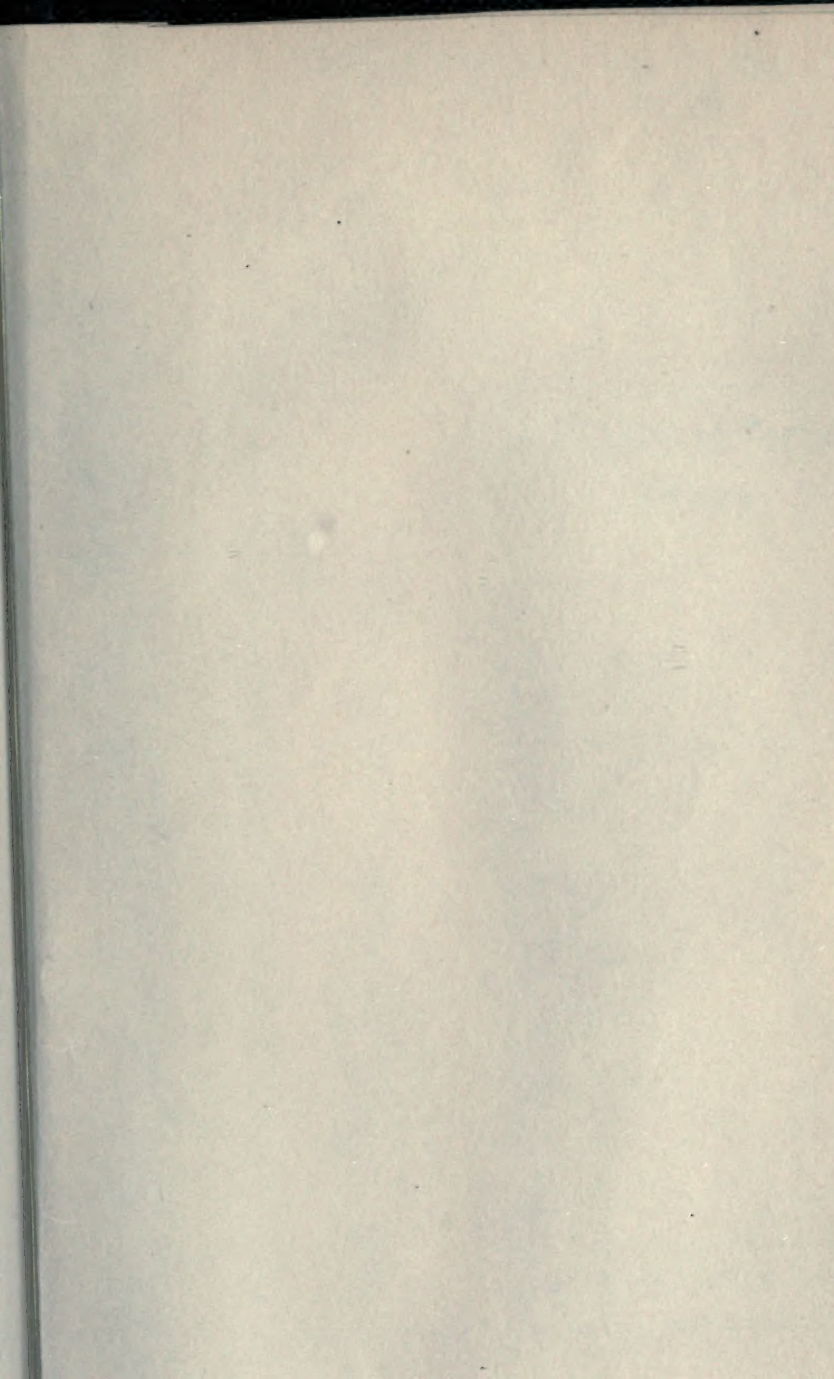
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